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ART. I.—*History of the Church of England. By the late Rev. J. B. S. CARWITHEN, B.D. A new Edition by the Rev. W. R. BROWELL, M. A. Rector of Beaumont, Essex.*

WE hold it impossible to overrate the importance of that influence which the historian will exercise over his own and succeeding generations, should he be so fortunate as to win, in the first place, and afterwards to retain, the 'ear of the public.' If, as we are told, the formation of opinions and principles is in the hands of poets, historians, and divines, can we lay too much stress and insist too rigidly upon the orthodoxy, the truthfulness, and moral character of these high-priests of literature! On this obvious ground, without further apology, and because of the conflicting claims advanced from time to time by men of every shade of sentiment and variety of creed, we deem it to be within our province to remark, and even our duty to keep a watchful eye, upon the productions of our own age in any of these the principal departments of learning; accordingly we would now turn the attention of the reading part of our community to a reprint of the excellent work standing at the head of this article; and we must first of all lay down what qualifications are, in our judgment, essentially necessary for an ecclesiastical historian to possess; that we may be justified in the commendation we shall venture to bestow, and in the exceptions to an entire approval we shall find it necessary to make.

In attempting to define the duties of an historian, if we begin with a foundation of elementary and well known matter, we solicit our readers patience until they can determine for themselves whether our remarks would have been complete without them. We commence then by opening a school-book, Cicero de Orat. lib. ii.; nor could so much as the following passage contain be easily comprehended in fewer words:—

'Quis nescit primam esse historię legem ne quid falsi dicere audeat, deinde ne quid veri non audeat, ne qua suspicio gratiæ sit in scribendo, ne

qua simultatis? Hæc scilicet fundamenta nota sunt omnibus : ipsa autem exædificatio posita est in rebus et verbis, Rerum ratio ordinem temporum desiderat, regionum descriptionem : vult etiam quoniam in rebus magnis, memoriæque dignis consilia primum, deinde acta, postea eventus expectantur, et de consiliis significari quid scriptor probet, et in rebus gestis declarari non solum quid actum aut dictum sit, sed etiam quo modo, et cum de eventu dicatur, ut causæ explicantur omnes vel casûs vel sapientiæ vel temeritatis ; hominumque ipsorum non solum res gestæ, sed etiam qui famâ ac nomine excellent, de cujusque vitâ atque naturâ. Verborum autem ratio et genus orationis fsum atque tractum et cum lenitate quâdam æquabili profluens sine hac judiciali asperitate et sine sententiarum forensium aculeis, persequendum est.

The powers and habits of mind demanded for the execution of this office are evidently extremely numerous and of a very high stamp : we are almost afraid to attempt their enumeration. Take however the following ; honesty, sagacity, discrimination, sound judgment, diligence, and order ; add to them taste and elegance, and even then we shall have by no means exhausted all those excellent qualities which ought to meet in a writer of history. Every one must, we think, be struck with the fact that moral habits of the mind, and not those of an intellectual kind, prevail in our list of desiderata. The truth is, that we must regard historians more or less in the light of witnesses ; we demand to know their names and character (for where shall we find an anonymous history that has carried any authority with it ?) They must appear in the court of public opinion, and may be cross-examined on every thing to which they depose : it is a question of credibility, and therefore the moral worth of the historian is necessarily made prominent. We shall not of course be misunderstood so far as to be thought to insist on the testimony of eye-witnesses alone, or to confine our confidence to contemporary historians ;—such an overstrained and rigid law could never be enforced, and would not secure more of truth, while it would mutilate and embarrass the course of narrative insufferably. Our meaning is, that every thing placed on record by a writer receives such a stamp and value as his judgment awards ;—he is, in a secondary sense, a witness of transactions which occurred ages ago, for he believes them or rejects them ; such is the accumulative testimony of the Church of successive generations. On this point, however, we shall have occasion to dwell when we come to the consideration of what the Christian historian should possess, over and above those endowments of the mind that make up the accomplishments of a civil historian. We propose to restrict ourselves at first, guided in some measure by the definition of the great orator, to those qualifications which all who would succeed in this noble employment, whatever be its subject, must possess in common. For when we

look at the ponderous and countless volumes lettered 'Hist. Rer.' or 'Univ. Hist.' which rest almost untouched upon the shelves of every good library, we feel some compassion for those industrious men who have laid up a store to which few have recourse, and make it a question with ourselves, why they are so generally overlooked! And we confess to have come to this conclusion, that in addition to the dryness of crude detail, and the sameness that the actions of mankind maintain, much of the neglect to which they are subject may be traced to their own deficiencies.

There is a kind of historical genius, not altogether distinct from poetical talent, without which no one will arrest attention, or leave vivid impressions upon the general mind. That native fire of the soul, which constitutes the poet, has a twin-sister spirit engaged on a humbler though still a sacred subject—history. It is a gift; it shows itself often at an early age in powers of description and narrative, and survives in the loquaciousness of grey hairs, a distinct and peculiar gift. The uncultivated mind of one who is acknowledged to 'tell a good story;' of a nurse, whose memory is the treasure-house of things marvellous; of that peculiar person (and no neighbourhood is without such) who chronicles the history of every family around,—here is frequently to be discovered the latent genius of a historian, the almost poet of actual life. This is the germ out of which is to be developed, under the fostering hand of cultivation, that attractive talent for the composition of History, without which it is wiser and safer for any one to decline entering these lists for fame: no mere imitation of phraseology, and the careful use of conventional terms, can atone for the want of this natural gift; if they could, historians might be made to order at public schools and universities. Nor is the most exact and careful compilation of events to be designated history; for if so, the Annual Register might suffice us for all common purposes. The writer who would rank as historian must inherit some of that engaging genius with which bards and eulogists of former days were so largely endowed. This was the great charm that Herodotus imparted to his historical recitations, and kindled the spark of genius that lay dormant in the second, perhaps the greatest, of Grecian historians. Such must we accord to Xenophon also; to Cæsar and Livy; and amongst moderns, to Froissart and Robertson. And, admirable as we must admit Cicero's 'Law of History' to be, we think it fortunate for his reputation that he never executed his design of writing the history of his own country, as it certainly would have been as great had he never tried his hand at poetry. The most powerful mind may be, and frequently is, entirely desti-

tute of the 'narrative faculty.' But we pass on to consider the other requisites which constitute the good historian.

Truth being the professed aim of all who undertake this task, boldness and impartiality are amongst the first things required by the reader, and also promised by the writer; but who does not know the infinite number of occasions that may arise either to disturb or to suspend the full tranquillity of perfect impartiality? Evidence is so fugitive; the canon of credibility so little agreed upon; the sources of historical information are so various, so opposed to each other, so intricate and unsatisfactory, that we are inclined to place the composition of a faithful history amongst the highest achievements of the human mind. Ample powers of imagination are required to transfer a lively picture of the times, and scenes, and persons described; and yet how necessary it is also for the soundest judgment to be exercised that the very truth may be represented. We cannot endure colouring to increase the effect, and yet look for more than a tame stiff outline, and want the artist's aid to prevent our history from becoming a mere *procès verbal*. What a field there is for displaying powers of the highest order, when the line of truth can be only one, whereas the paths of error must be infinite! Even that intense and passionate love of truth which is so captivating and heroic, be it ever so unfeigned and earnest, will not avail for maintaining impartiality; objects must be viewed through some medium; the mind must come to its task with some fixed principles and habits of thought, and the representation of facts will be coloured by the prevailing tone of mind in the narrator; the very simplest story will discover something of the teller, however warily his words be chosen, and this we hold to be so general as to extend even beyond pure narrative; the very mathematician displays the cast of his own mind by the nature of the proofs that he employs. Now, confessedly, what on all accounts we look for in history, is not this man or the other's version of events, but the plain unvarnished tale of actual transactions with all their attendant causes and consequences, motives and feelings; and, acknowledging the manifold difficulties that lie in the historian's way,—of such a nature too, as we have just observed, as to seem almost insuperable,—it is a grave question whether any method can be suggested for avoiding error altogether, and to what extent we can ever hope to see this realized. There are persons, not numbered perhaps among our ordinary readers, who, should they by any chance light on this passage, will look upon our inquiry as a forlorn hope, or as a dream promising the philosopher's stone or perpetual motion; but we trust that there are many who have already divined the answer we are preparing to make, and whose

concurrence in it we earnestly desire. The natural craving after absolute truth has at all times had recourse to different securities and provisions against error, by which authors have hoped to be guided through the tangled maze of facts and opinions. In early and simple writers we meet with an invocation for supernatural assistance, which, so long as it was sincere and faithful, could not fail to engender some of that serious sobriety, which leads to the adoption and the expression of truth, though it degenerated, we know, into a mere form of introduction utterly destitute of reality. Some historians enter upon their labours with an avowed expectation of finally settling every disputed point, relying upon their superior means of information, or because they have discovered the errors of preceding writers, and are determined to guard against the same and the like. But self-reliance is no safeguard against any dangers, least of all the dangers of authorship. Some writers have thought to overrule their political bias by dealing always in contradictory statements, and leaving the reader to gather the truth for himself as he best can, and from the bottom of a well indeed, inculcating the maxim that the truth is ever to be found midway between the statements of contending parties. Of this we have had a recent example in Mr. Macaulay's History of England. He affects great impartiality by producing opposite authorities, and intends to leave the impression on his reader's mind that what really occurred was somewhere between the two extremes; this is his favourite figure of composition; but it is not, in the first place, applicable to facts, which admit of no degree; and secondly, he has actually created and coined extremes, in order to bring his own version into the supposed medium of truth. Let him not deceive himself, he can never be a historian; he may support his friends in power by celebrating the cause of the 'glorious Revolution;' but he is destitute of many of those qualities which would entitle him to be enrolled in the honourable corps of historical bards. We are far from denying that diverging and contradictory statements should be compared; this is of course a chief duty for the historian: we condemn the application of that much questioned Aristotelian doctrine of the mean and extremes to the debated facts of history, and dismiss with contempt an author who stoops to support his party by tampering with original documents. Again, we have remarked in other writers so much sensitiveness to the imputation of partiality, as to bear the appearance of addressing their opponents only, aiming at the approbation of their enemies, and adapting their statements to the wishes and views which they do not themselves avowedly hold; they are deserters, and should be treated as such. This is an attempt on the part of conscientious men to

counteract the natural bias of their own opinions ; but, excusable or even meritorious as the attempt may be, the same ill effects result from it as would proceed from an affectation of charity, namely, one-sided history. It is a high and praiseworthy aim indeed to aspire after absolute impartiality, but it requires a steady head to stand long on such an eminence, and a steady hand to record the actions and words of men without any bias whatever. Here we will introduce an admirable passage from F. Schlegel's *Lectures on Modern History*, for which we are obliged to the recently published translation ; it contains the root of that solution to the great difficulty of historians of which we are now speaking :—

‘That history is written with partiality is a universal complaint. In the ordinary and literal sense this complaint ought not to be made, if we survey history from a lofty point of view. If, in his narrative a writer of history has in view merely the advantage of some individual state, or some special political object, and not the general interests of mankind and the progress of human destinies, in that case he may be perhaps a skilful advocate, an able orator, a distinguished political writer, but by no means is he an historian. But if a genuine historian sets before us facts, as they are, without falsification, and with the strictest conscientiousness,—for so he is required, and so it is self-evident he ought to do ;—and if, with respect to his views and opinions, without which it is impossible to write history, or at least a lively historic narrative, he frankly states the principles of belief and right which determine his views and opinions ; then we cannot complain with justice, for he himself furnishes us with the means of easily ascertaining how far we can agree with him or not. Of partiality we ought not to accuse him, even if we should differ from him in opinion ; or at least the word then has no longer any very reprehensible sense. In general it is in history as in life itself, when it may often be more praiseworthy to choose and join the right party, than to remain without any party, ever neutral and indifferent. The example of a great Roman writer will best serve to illustrate my meaning. Tacitus opens his two immortal works, of different tendency, with the same assertion,—that they were written without hate, as without love. In this, perhaps, he only alluded to his own personal relations under this or that particular emperor, which might indeed more readily occur to his contemporaries. But if his impressions were to be taken strictly we should then do him injustice. For it is precisely the high moral hate, glowing through his pages, and the exalted love visible in them ; the hate namely of unrighteous despotism and degrading vice, and the decided watchful love for every thing worthy of better times ; these things it is that render his works immortal, that have given them an imperishable value for all ages. Not impartial is Tacitus—this any one without intellect or love can easily be. No ! he is in the highest degree partial, but his partiality is for the right party, and expressed in a just and noble manner.’—P. 3.

With this opinion, so far as relates to secular history, we cordially agree. It is fallacious to suppose it possible for any human being to divest himself of all passion and feeling, inclination and conviction, in order that he may sit in judgment on the actions and lives of others ; and, if he could, his production would be an unnatural and monstrous performance, that could

find no sympathy in the human heart. Socrates in his basket, or Archimedes looking about for an unearthly spot on which to fix his fulcrum, are not more ridiculous than to aim at independent impartiality of this kind. But let no one too hastily conclude from these declarations on our part, that we suppose no history of perfect truthfulness has ever been written, or, as a consequence of the infirmities of mankind, ever could be composed. We believe that there has been, and that there still exists perfectly impartial history in the Book of Holy Revelation, and moreover, that it is practicable for one who is under the guidance of Him who inspired the Scriptures, to compose a true and faithful history of the Church. This latter proposition we will proceed to support with certain arguments, elementary indeed in themselves, but evidently not obvious to many persons; the former we assume as granted, while the clamours and objections which such an announcement will certainly excite, must be deferred until we have stated our own case.

First, we beg all our readers who can, to realize in their own minds the theory of the Church, such as it is asserted and maintained to be, by faithful sons of every generation and every land. The Church is a spiritual creation of God, made visible in the faithful; mysterious in constitution, in doctrine, in the Sacraments, and also in the powers entrusted to it. For the Church does lay claim to supernatural powers, not exhibited in every age in proof of its divine mission, as the Romanists pretend, though they cannot substantiate it, but still in the judgment of every Catholic capable of being called forth into action by Him whose original gift they were, acting nevertheless upon the hearts and minds of the faithful as really and effectually as did the open manifestations of the Spirit. If this be an essential characteristic of the nature of the Church, how incomplete must be the history which relates only to the externals of this institution, to its points of contact with the world considered politically only; and then, reverently applying the reasoning of the Sacred Book contained in 1 Cor. ii. 11, 'What man knoweth the things of a man save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man but the Spirit of God;' we may for our parts deny that one who is no member of Christ's Church *can* enter into the fortunes and destinies of it; and if going before unbelievers for judgment is prohibited by the Apostle to Christian brethren, when any case of disagreement between them occurs, it is, we think, a fair inference that to receive the history of the Church at the hands of infidels or of misbelievers is also a departure from the line of duty prescribed by Scripture. And since, unfortunately, true membership is very vaguely interpreted amongst us, and we have an

apostolic warning that 'they are not all Israel which are of Israel,' (Rom. ix. 6), we must require for our historian that he receive the previous, or an equivalent definition of the Church. To consent to take any other view than that which a faithful churchman is bound to take, we pronounce a dereliction of Christian duty—to endeavour to obtain some more elevated position such as philosophy is supposed to furnish, from whence a more comprehensive, and therefore a truer estimate of history may be made, is in our judgment nugatory. Even F. Schlegel is not always to be acquitted of entertaining this idea: in his *Philosophy of History*, lect. xii. is this passage:—

'It is only the knowledge, and complete comprehension of the great scheme of history, which can enable us to rise above the particular transactions of our own, or of a foreign nation of the present times or of past ages; and it is this knowledge which can alone clearly and safely determine the feeling with which we should regard particular historical facts. But for that end the ancient historian, as well as all antiquity, wanted the clue which Christianity alone has given us, to the internal connexion of the world's history, and which they who seek for it elsewhere but in this religion, will certainly seek in vain.'

There is so much to admire here that we shall be thought hard to please, we fear, when we venture to say that the lecturer seems to refer to a genius of Christianity higher than the Romish Church, to which however he was sincerely attached; and we believe that the more comprehensive Anglo-Catholic doctrine of the Church would have better satisfied his reasoning and his aspirations. But most unreservedly do we join him in maintaining that faith in the revelation of God is the only key to a perfect knowledge of history, whether we look back upon what is recorded of various nations, or look forward to their future destinations according to the pages of prophecy. And now, to resume our argument more consecutively. Let us remember that ecclesiastical history is a continuation of the Bible, as the Bible is the beginning of Church history; and thus the older historians, Eusebius and others, always treated it; they prefaced their own annals with a brief account of the first institution of his Church by Christ and His Apostles; nor must this be lost sight of by any one that ventures to put his hand to so holy a work. The lapse of fourteen or fifteen centuries can make no difference in this respect. If Church history be what it professes to be, it is a *continuation of the Acts of the Apostles and their successors*, and we cannot admit any one to perform this office with whom the above consideration is not paramount to every other and always present. We disclaim any attempt to confound the authority of canonical with apocryphal Scripture; we only look for such a continuation of the sacred records as

the Jewish canonical scriptures found in the Books of the Maccabees.

Now, truth being the professed aim of every historian, is it possible that his object can be attained in any other way so effectually as under the guidance of the Spirit of truth? If honesty is almost the first, the second, and the third grand requisite in treating history, the faithful follower of his Lord, whose mind is renewed from the fountain of truth, must not only have an advantage over every other, but must indeed be the only person to whom can be intrusted the history of truth itself. With respect to himself, and his own appreciation of his task, how important it is that he believe himself to be engaged in a work wherein he may dare to hope for Divine influence, such as being really *συνεργὸς τῷ Θεῷ* must certainly ensure. What abundant and heart-stirring motives will he have for zeal, for charity, for discrimination; how fervent his prayers!—after the example of the devout painter who prefaced his daily work with a supplication for divine assistance on his labours,—when he reflects that a portion of the Book of God is purely historical, that all the several economies displayed therein are grounded upon history, and that he too has engaged ‘*to set in order the things most surely believed by us* :’ these things being no less than the operations of God’s Spirit upon the heart of man, the opposition of the world and its perversion of the truth, destined to suffer a fearful retribution, and a portion of the struggle between good and evil which forms the great mystery of our condition.

We must still farther unfold our meaning, in order to guard against being misunderstood. With us it is impossible, for one who is a good Churchman, to be other than a devout and enlightened Christian: and we believe that there is no moral excellence beyond the reach of those who are renewed day by day with the refreshing grace of God. Whatsoever, therefore, may be needed for the counteraction of all that can pervert, debase and injure historical truth, may with confidence be expected in one whose character is formed and matured under the influence and discipline of the Church of Christ. It may here be justly expected that we should, even if it were only as an illustration of our meaning, enter into a few particulars of the mode of action, whereby, as we assert, true Churchmanship will neutralize all or most of those evil humours of the mind, from whence spring error, deception, and falsehood. To commence, then, with what has been already acknowledged for one of the greatest disturbing forces, partiality and partisanship, exemption from which the Roman historian claimed for himself; (*sine odio et sine delectione*;) it is the endeavour and the earnest prayer

of every Christian, that his will, and tastes, and predilections, may be all submitted to, or brought into accordance with the will of his heavenly Father ; and, so far as he attains his avowed object, so far may we be assured that he escapes from every narrow prejudice, realizes his brotherhood with every man, and truly "loves his enemies : " nor should we omit to mention, that not only is this grace given to sincere Christians, but that he holds in the sacred history of the Bible, the clearest directions by example for his guidance, not alone in this particular, but in every thing that concerns a historian. In Holy Scripture, the offences and failings of the greatest saints are unsparingly recorded ; it was not Jewish prejudice and national partiality that blotted every page of their history with only 'evil continually : ' and shall we exceed the bounds of reasonable expectation, if we look for similar traits of unbiassed impartiality, such as are seen in the sacred writers, successfully imitated by a true Churchman ? The annals of God's people have formed the subject of his studies at every period of life, and have been taken for his model of excellence in all the main essentials of history. Again we are well aware, that vanity and self-love have frequently spoiled with a taint inexpiable, memoirs and historical compositions ; for this great blemish of the mind we know of no other remedy, we never heard of any successfully applied, but Christian Churchmanship. By it men are taught to know their own true position, like the good centurion, who, being himself under authority, had soldiers under him,—they are taught their real subordinate place in the economy of God's household ; they are not lifted above it, nor lowered beneath it ; and the consequence is, a serene self-knowledge, which neither highest philosophy, nor any of the exaggerations of Christian doctrine could ever attain. Egotism and an anxiety for reputation, is the besetting sin of authorship ; nor have the plodding band of historians been exempt from it ; we may, perhaps, refer to this feeling some of the almost incredible exertions and industry, recorded of certain writers ; but, making themselves the centre of their system, bent upon showing their superior acuteness or sagacity, and endeavouring to raise themselves by the depression of others, they produce a distorted and unfair misrepresentation of history. In this case also, if we compare the sacred historians of both the Old and the New Testaments with such authors, how remarkable a feature in the former is the absence of personal and private feelings ; the individual is quite lost sight of, so far, at least, as dwelling for an instant on his own merits, or the importance of his history : all concern for self, is absorbed in zeal for the honour of their God. Thus Moses composed his history in the third person, placed on

record his own and his family's offences, and their exclusion from the land of promise : he does indeed declare that 'Moses was meek above all men,' but this does not amount to self-laudation, it is the simplicity of truth, and it may be made a question whether it is not mentioned by him as an infirmity, rather than a virtue. So, also, the solemn asseveration at the end of St. John's Gospel, of the authenticity and genuineness of that holy writing, is almost the sole instance of authorship being declared in the New Testament, (excepting of course in the Epistles, the very nature of which made it necessary :) and even here, as in the beginning of the Acts of the Apostles, the testimony of the Church was required to identify the writing with its author. So little had *self* to do with the authorship of the Sacred Writings. We need hardly tell our readers that the subversion of vanity is one of the most difficult tasks ever accomplished in the mind's discipline, (especially in those who have devoted themselves to literature of any kind, the inventive faculty appearing to be prone to worship its own creations,) and thus becomes an indication of the presence of that influence, without which no one can go on towards 'perfection.' Under this head, also, we may class that great impediment to truthful narrative, under which those writers labour, who may be described as men of one idea. Some favourite notion takes possession of their minds, and appears to them to be the solution of every difficulty, to be illustrated directly or indirectly by every event in history, and, indeed, to be the grand cardinal truth on which everything in life has turned and must turn. This monomania totally unfits a man for the office of historian, and, to our cost, we know, has rendered the labours of many serious-minded Christians almost useless. To such contracted views Catholic Christianity is corrective, nor will we ever believe that its noble principles are really held by those who have all their views bounded by the narrow horizon of one formula. One more phase of human weakness leading to the deterioration of history we will mention, which, also, perfect Christianity can alone remedy : we mean the excessive admiration for great men, recently termed hero-worship. There is no greater contrast, in our judgment, to be found between sacred and non-sacred history, than that all praise in the former centres in, and rests upon One. In a piece of biography or in a funeral sermon, we can allow a wide licence to the attachment of friendship, and the regrets of the bereaved. But in Church history, the last page of which shall record that 'God is all in all,' we can tolerate no homage to the creature that is not based upon, and derived from, the glory of God. We should be led too far for our present limits, if we pursued to any greater length the details

of all that is to be corrected by the sanctifying influence of real Churchmanship; and enough has been shown by way of specimen in proof of its efficacy; for it is unnecessary to say, that all dishonesty, intentional unfairness, malicious feelings, all morbid discontent at the providence of God, as well as Utopian expectations of the universal happiness and perfection of mankind, are utterly excluded from the writings of one who looks upon the world through the medium of the light of revelation; and remembering that there *is*, no doubt, if it only can be attained, a true view of every transaction, a just estimate of every character, to be secured and faithfully represented by neutralizing every evil tendency and counteracting every disturbing force; (such a view, perhaps, as a dying man takes of all the transactions of his past life) we hold that the Christian's estimate of every thing terrestrial must be nearer to that than any other that can be supposed. 'I die daily,' St. Paul's short and impressive description of the Christian frame of mind, is the very position of superiority to the passing interests, and the fleeting passions of a troublesome life, which must be acknowledged to be the most favourable for a calm and unbiassed judgment. There is a holiness about such a retrospect of life, so truthful in many individuals, as well nigh to anticipate the final estimate that shall be summed up and declared at the dreadful day of judgment; and this surely finds a close resemblance in the serious decisions which a Christian purged from the mists and perplexities of active life is enabled to make. The clue to all history, and *à fortiori* to ecclesiastical history, is the Christian dispensation. "Without this faith, the whole history of the world would be nought else than an insoluble enigma, an 'inextricable labyrinth, a huge pile of the blocks and fragments of an unfinished edifice; and the great tragedy of humanity would remain devoid of all proper result.'"—*F. Schlegel, Phil. of Hist.*

It is sufficiently obvious that such a claim as the above advanced for the Churchman, will be resisted by the generality of men, and will remain unsupported even by many Christians. They refuse to look at the Church history in a religious light, and consequently miss the only point of view, from whence its true character is discoverable. It will be said that history written on this principle, must be 'an *ex parte*' statement; that prejudice must disfigure any annals that are written by one who is a zealous, however intelligent, member of the Church; that he will be blind to its imperfections through attachment, and that the only way to arrive at certainty in such matters, is by the ventilation of controversy. Such reasonings are plausible, and only too popular we fear; but we hope that the fore-

going argument, when duly considered, will be found to have met all that is of weight in these objections; at all events we can plead for our opinion the very highest of all authority; for it is under these circumstances that the whole of the Sacred Volume was written; it is on this foundation alone, that every sacred document rests for its historical credibility. What account have we of our Blessed Lord's life and death, save that which was composed by Christians, the written tradition of that which the Apostles preached? How diligently have heathen writers been searched for any allusion to the marvellous times and events of that period, and yet with how little success! Has not even an argument against the truth of the gospel been raised upon the absence of all mention of such events in contemporary writers? The 'chosen witnesses' must be trusted, or you will have none. And the same may be extended to the Mosaic history; it stands alone, unsupported by corroborative evidence, beyond certain vague rumours out of the traditions of Arabia; at any rate there is no work pretending to be of the same age, out of which can be extracted anything for or against the truth of the Pentateuch; ours is a traditional faith, whatever part of Holy Scripture be made the object of it. We received it first from our parents, the best source to receive it from, confirmed, no doubt, by subsequent experience and reflection, but resting ultimately on the credit of those who, 'believed and therefore spoke;' why then should it be made an objection to an ecclesiastical history, that it emanates from a member of the Church, interested for its welfare, and compromised to its doctrines?

Here we anticipate a demand for some explanation on our hypothesis, why there is not a 'summa consensio' amongst all Church Historians—whereas it is notorious that there is most manifest disagreement even amongst the well-disciplined ranks of the Papacy? It surely will not be necessary to say more in reply than that few, very few, who go by the name of Historians of the Church, are entitled to rank as such, on the principles we have been laying down: and if we strike off all who, having treated of the Church, may yet be easily convicted of scepticism, or of heresy, of schism or erastianism, all who have failed, for some reason or other, to realize in their own case the divine life, and have continued, in spite of all their professions, sensual and worldly; a small number will suffice to comprehend the whole of those whom we should admit to be Christian Historians. But when we have removed all such, (and we think it must be admitted that such cannot be trustworthy or efficient teachers of a christian community,) there will be found a striking agreement in all material points of History—not indeed a logical

coincidence,—the circumstances of the case make that neither possible nor desirable—but an agreement of that kind, which on points of doctrine runs through the writings of the Fathers, and out of which Catenæ have been to so great an extent traced and formed, proving that they were of ‘one mind’: or in some degree resembling the harmony which may be formed out of the Four Gospels, or that subsists between the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. This consistency requires attention to discover, and has exercised the highest abilities to develop, but it is, perhaps, only the more valuable on that account when once established,—only the more convincing from being undesigned: such an agreement in kind, though no doubt in degree we cannot promise it, is all that men have any right to ask of contemporary or successive Church Historians—and this we are prepared to maintain is to be observed.

It is no longer possible to comprise the history of the whole Church in one work, even if there were a central point of unity confessed by every nation, language, and people under the sun,—if the Propaganda were all that the Romanists could wish,—the streams of history are far too numerous for this to be done, and any attempt to join them would merely produce an ocean of confusion: but every national Church must have its own historian, and candidates for that high honour are never wanting in every age. Our own Church, however, has been singularly unfortunate on the whole with respect to her historians: the evil example of foreign reformers, at a time when every reformer was embraced as a brother engaged in the same cause; the political cast of the Reformation, which imparted even to its theology some of the characteristics of Revolution,—wherein the most noisy is the most eloquent, and the popular passes for the true,—these causes converted every attempt at history into controversy or mere rabid declamation, misled the zealous and silenced the wary and judicious. The times and scenes of public excitement are unfavourable for the composition of history, though they are said to give rise to the most fervid eloquence, and to furnish the best materials for subsequent historians. Matter must be at rest that it may crystallize—and so too must the mind that undertakes to arrange the cause and effect, the worth and the estimation of a series of human actions, speeches and literary compositions: it would be unreasonable therefore to express any surprise that the days of the Reformation passed away without seeing one Church historian produced. John Foxe was manifestly not a Church historian: he was lineally descended, in the taste and design of his work, from Matthias Flacius and the Magdeburgh Centurists, and, unhappily for this nation, he was taken for their main authority by

most of the writers of the century succeeding his own: his earnest roughness and plain speaking have been thought to be a pledge of his honesty and sagacity: and, perhaps, the dread of conceding too much to the fierce attacks of Romanist writers, may have inclined our own divines incautiously to throw around the martyrologist the mantle of their protection,—such at least seems to be the case with the late Dr. Wordsworth, judging by the preface to his *Ecclesiastical Biography*. But the reign of Foxe is over: an illiterate and prejudiced writer of one idea and no charity could not always remain the foundation stone of our Church's history: and every lately discovered document, every investigation entered into by competent scholars of the present day, has diminished, and is daily diminishing the prestige of his name: Maitland's *Essays* now collected out of the *British Magazine* with large additions, *Haweis' Sketches of the Reformation*, and *Massingberd's English Reformation*, present us from original sources with quite enough to check that enthusiastic admiration for the horrible book of bonfires which has so long prevailed. Together with Foxe, however, must sink also all who have trusted him, all who have built upon his sandy foundation: and so far as Fuller and Burnet and Strype are his followers, which they are to a deplorable extent, so far are they also seriously injured in reputation by the recent advances made in this field of literature. In that they collected and preserved original papers, their works are extremely valuable, but by depending upon Foxe for perhaps the most important period of the history that they undertook, and from his reports and tales filling up the body of their narrative, they have of necessity abounded in misrepresentations;—above all, they have perpetuated that unfair and even malicious picture of the opponents to the Reformation, which had been used as the best '*argumentum ad populum*', and not because of its fidelity and truth.

It is therefore undoubtedly true, (a confession to be made with much regret,) that there is no continuous and systematic History of the Church of England belonging to the 16th and 17th centuries—that it remained to be composed at a great disadvantage after the Revolution, and the current of faithful history was confined to those morsels of biography furnished by good Isaac Walton and others. Warburton is said to have declared that we have only two historians of our national Church, Collier the Nonjuror, and Fuller the Jester: the claims of the latter we shall leave others to support: of Collier we must be allowed to say that his work approaches nearer than any other, with which we are acquainted, to the standard which we have found supplied to us, by a consideration of the task to be accomplished. We are not blind to the defects of Collier, but we think they

have been always very much exaggerated : he was a conscientious man, who relinquished all worldly consequence and popularity to maintain his honest convictions,—this is never understood nor forgiven by the mass of mankind,—and Burnet, who made his fortune by adhering to the Prince of Orange, and ended with becoming a Bishop and delivering pastoral advice, owes much of his reputation to his success in life : Collier was a Nonjuror, (we are by no means sure, by the way, that the Nonjurors have not been confounded with the Nonconformists of a former generation, certainly they were regarded with equal abhorrence by many,) whilst acute casuists and easy-going consciences complied with the political transfer of their loyalty, and assisted materially towards bringing about the Revolution. But Collier, writing under the excitement of his conscientious sufferings, and living in such a state of separation as to border very closely upon schism, though his whole heart, we know, yearned for the fruition of a purer Catholicism, was consequently unable to come to that calm and devotional state of mind, which we re-assert to be necessary for the Historian of the Church.

We commenced this article with declaring that the previous reflections which we should make upon Church historians generally, were intended to lead to some notice of the work standing at the head of it : and we hope, now that this sterling work has escaped from the thralldom of an expensive shape and size, and been put into the most marketable and convenient shape, it will speedily be generally known and adopted. This hope we entertain, because we believe it to be the best work of its kind yet produced. In saying so much as this, we beg our readers to observe closely the terms we employ—we say *of its kind*, because after all, it is but an abbreviated and condensed history, such indeed as the author was restricted to, when he proposed to himself the task of preparing a work suitable for students of divinity in our universities, and at the same time generally readable. Moreover, the historical narrative does not fully commence before the time of Henry VIII., the previous single chapter giving a scanty outline of the English Church before the Reformation : still further, it is carried up only to the Revolution, though it was the intention of the author to carry it so far as his own days, had his life been prolonged. There is, indeed, nothing that we can discover omitted by Mr. Carwithen, material towards understanding the annals of our Church during the period which his plan comprehends : the acts of the Church at large, and the enactments of the legislature respecting the Church, are recorded by him with more of care and of skill than we have ever seen displayed in such works : there is more matter, and it is more lucidly

arranged than in any similar composition: the author's powers of condensing without giving a confused account of the most intricate and protracted negotiations have, we really believe, never been exceeded. But it would be unjust to expect everything that illustrates the Church's history, everything that bears upon the fame of her greatest characters, to find a place in two small volumes; nevertheless, we suspect it will be found, that the 580 pages in each volume contain much information, and certainly suggestions for further inquiry, that many well-read men in other literature are entirely without, or possess in scanty measure. We have reason to believe, that a large majority of our legislators, including the very judges themselves, the magistrates of the country, not forgetting the clerical members of the bench, and another class, not perhaps less influential upon the affairs of society than the foregoing,—we mean religious ladies,—may derive from this succinct and impartial history that information, for want of which they often make themselves ridiculous. The author's talent for compressing the more bulky matter of other writers into a small compass is quite remarkable, and it is curious to see how the loquacity of Burnet, and the tediousness of Strype can be 'packed small' without any detriment. And there is, at the present day, a new and additional reason for desiring every member of the Church to be tolerably well instructed in her previous fortunes. Subjects of the last importance to the Christian, questions which affect the position of a Churchman in this country, are being opened up afresh, and submitted to the decision of public opinion,—such things were referred of old to the Bishops and Synods of the Church, or later to Convocation; now they are brought before public opinion,—and woe is us! that Presbyterian, Baptist, Wesleyan, Calvinist, and Latitudinarian, have a voice in swelling the loud roar of public opinion: newspapers, whose staff of contributors may be most ungodly men, without one fixed principle beyond writing what the many-headed monster will read, are allowed to join the cry, and as they pass a life of masquerade, can personify a member of the Church as well as anything else. Hence, we believe the Church of England to be at this time in a great strait: and we urge and intreat every son and daughter of our beloved mother to acquaint themselves with the misfortunes she has gone through, her constancy in trouble, her purity of doctrine, and her providential protection up to this day; that they may be enabled with knowledge, and on conviction, to withstand their adversaries, and 'having done all to stand.' One great excellence of Mr. Carwithen's history is his forcible and polished style; and style is a tolerably certain indication of the vigour and power of mind with which an

author is endowed; the most fastidious person need feel no apprehension of weariness on this score, when he takes up this History of the Church of England: it is even, we think, deserving of being held up to the young as a model of vigour, propriety, and rhythm; a consideration of some value, since the tendency and taste of the age is on the side of overlooking classical elegance, and neglecting ornaments of style. More particularly with respect to historical style, we are anxious to introduce here some general remarks which have been suggested by what we must say appears to us to be a defect in Mr. Carwithen's history. It is this; it was thought necessary by writers of twenty and thirty years ago to modernise the diction of old authorities, and to make them, as the phrase was, read better. Our author is not free from this charge, and we are glad to see that the new edition has returned in most cases to the very expressions, and even the spelling of the original authorities: there was no intention amongst the writers of his time and taste to misrepresent the ancient records, but they were unwilling to introduce obsolete expressions into their text, and sometimes were so ill-starred as to undertake to revise a style vastly superior to their own in nervousness and musical cadence,—they would dress their characters in the fashionable garments of their own day, at whatever period the plot was laid.

There is, however, a growing disposition to look for original documents and words in all their uncouth form, as well as, we believe, a better appreciation of the literary merits of the Elizabethan and following ages of literature,—and a greater jealousy of any 'private interpretation' of the sense of an authority;—this we hail as a great improvement in our national taste; and we think that no department of letters will benefit more from it than history. For the grammatical puzzles that have originated in the 'Oratio Obliqua' appear to us to be amongst the least of the evils introduced into history under the cover of it: unfairness and injustice and exaggeration have made it their favourite lurking-place—and high time it is that such licence be checked, and that history be restricted to the 'ipsissima verba' of all who figure in it; or if any reason call for an abridgement of what has been spoken or written, let it be declared to be an abridgement; or lastly, if the substance only be given, it should pass for nothing more. Those are memorable words of Thucydides, (I. 20:) ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ εἶπον ἕκαστοι, ἡ μέλλοντες πολεμήσειν ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ ἤδη ὄντες, χαλεπὸν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτὴν τῶν λεχθέντων διαμνημονεύσαι ἦν, ἐμοὶ τε ὧν αὐτὸς ἤκουσα, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ἐμοὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν· ὥς δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν μοι ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν αἰὲ παρόντων τὰ δεόντα μάλιστα εἰπεῖν, ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς συμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων, οὕτως εἴρηται.

We say they are well worthy of attention, as indicating what that eminent historian considered himself at liberty to do, what perhaps he was almost driven to do, and, at the same time, the wide opening left by such terms for introducing what was, in some cases, most foreign to the intention of the original speaker. We are far from undervaluing the accuracy of traditional history,—we believe modern times hold it in greatly too much contempt: for we have known uneducated persons who must trust to their memories, if they would secure what they hear, more exact and truthful than written reports; as also on the other hand we are not ignorant of reporters and their devices. We are not likely therefore to complain of history composed on the principles which the Greek historian avows as above; so long as the work passes for an intellectual creation, a well-drawn picture with shades and colouring artistically introduced;—for we would not confine all the world to look at nothing but daguerreotype likenesses of the past,—and we love too well the pages of Herodotus and Livy, and the orations of Cicero that were intended to be spoken, to lay down any so strict a law as should banish from our regard the flights of historical genius; but we must stipulate in Church history for literal truth and verbal exactness,—so far, of course, as we can possibly hope to attain it,—unquestionably to the exclusion of putting any words into the mouths of persons who *might* have spoken them, or of transferring the sentiments of many into the speech of one; and in a word, all those rhetorical contrivances with which bookmakers are conversant, are insufferable in a history of the Church. The profane daring of Milton in his *Paradise Lost*, venturing to put words into the mouth of the Most High, is of course a greater offence than that we are treating of,—but it is the same in kind. The interest at stake, the matter in hand of ecclesiastical history, is far too serious, and involves too much of the realities of our being, to be made the subject of mere literary effusions; and the credit of the Church historian should be no less sacred in all that he puts his hand unto, than the inviolable signature of men engaged in commerce. . . . There is another point in some degree connected with the foregoing, wherein Mr. Carwithen has, it seems, incurred a slight degree of censure from a nearly contemporary author, to which we feel bound to make some allusion. Dr. Vowler Short, at the time he wrote it Rector of King's Worthy, and now Bishop of St. Asaph, says in his Preface to his *Sketch of the History of the Church of England*, ‘Mr. Carwithen has given a very faithful description ‘of the country through which he has passed, but he has not ‘sufficiently pointed out the more striking features to which the ‘attention of the traveller must be directed, if he wishes to

'obtain an idea of the whole territory.' We conclude, not unfairly, we think, that Dr. Short has, in his own version of the same history, made up for those deficiencies he had observed in his predecessor,—though we cannot for our parts repress a smile at the naïve simplicity, with which he undertakes to improve upon what is so immeasurably a superior production to his own. But in good truth, it is precisely one among many reasons that we cannot praise Dr. Short's history, that he lectures one at every turn, and presses upon you his honest, no doubt, but undemanded opinions. And, to show that we are not unsupported in our judgment of the true office of a historian, we will quote a passage from Lord Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* (Book II.) to this point: 'it is the true office of history to represent the events themselves together with the counsels, and to leave the observations and conclusions thereupon to the liberty and faculty of every man's judgment: but mixtures are things irregular, whereof no man can define.' We enter our protest, by the way, against the prevailing taste for historical disquisitions, to the exclusion, we fear, of sound historical knowledge. We believe there is much danger from the adoption of general views by students of history, at the hands of lecturers and essayists, without deriving them for themselves from an induction of facts, and as a result of their own labours. How ready the young are to fancy themselves masters of a subject, it is quite unnecessary to say, or to point out how open they are to feel the fascination of theory, and to take up brilliant views:—this is, however, altogether apart from what we have to say respecting Dr. Short's history. Everybody knows that this estimable man is what is called a liberal in politics: *e. g.* in § 817, we are told:—'The Constitution of the Church of England as settled at the Revolution, was that of an authorized and paid establishment, which was not allowed to persecute those who dissented from it.' Is the Church of England prepared to allow that the House of Commons may re-distribute or appropriate to other purposes the tithe of God's Church? Let the government resume the lay-impropriations, and try the temper of men's minds upon that point first. Again, in note (a) § 676, we may see what alterations in our Liturgy would be in accordance with Dr. Short's wishes—of which all we can say is, that we pray fervently that he may have no hand in any revision of it; and in a note to § 591, in speaking of excommunication he says, 'some good may arise from it in preventing scandal: but very little with regard to the offending party.' Excommunication is a punishment of Apostolic, we might even say, of Divine appointment: See 1 Cor. v. 3, 4: and S. Matt. xviii. 17; and for the express purpose 'that the spirit may be saved in the day

of the Lord : ' . . . These few instances of Dr. Short's off-hand way of treating serious matters we bring forward for the truth's sake, and without forgetting his great private worth, or his present official dignity.

We must now bring these observations towards a conclusion. There are, however, one or two more respecting Mr. Carwithen's history that should not be overlooked altogether. It must be borne in mind, that this work was composed and published twenty years ago; and consequently, that the stirring questions which have so greatly and so unhappily disturbed the Church of England during that period, are many of them left untouched; some introduced as having interest historically alone, all being treated without any of the excitement of a present controversy. This we believe to be a favourable position for the work to occupy now in some respects—in others not so. One instance we shall take from what our author says of Psalmody. In Chap. x. is an account of the alterations effected at the Reformation in this portion of our services: expressions are to be found in the first edition respecting S. Athanasius, and his directions for intoning prayers, that we are glad to see omitted in the present: as also a mistake respecting the substitution of anthems for the introit;—we join the author in lamenting the discontinuance of the latter,—but he ought to have said that the anthem, varying every day, is introduced after the second lesson. Again, a trustworthy account of the powers of convocation and of the taxation of the Clergy, may be gathered from the several passages to which the index will direct a student, and such of course as is wholly independent of the events of the present day. Again, we cannot think, that if Mr. Carwithen had lived to see what we see, he would have put forward in a note, (I. 105,) a passage from a Charge by Dr. Balguy, of somewhat Erastian tendency; nor that he would have paraded in large capitals the celebrated dictum of Chillingworth:—to this, however, the editor has attached an antidote, gathered out of the wordy labours of Chillingworth himself; much less can we admit that so sound a Churchman on the whole as our author is, is either consistent with himself, or justified, in perpetuating the charge of bigotry against Archbishop Laud, a murdered, if not a martyred hero of the Church. These are some of our exceptions to the praise to which we believe this history to be justly entitled; and every one who can look back to the period when it was written, and is able to form an estimate of the salutary and extensive change that, in spite of all reverses, has been effected in the minds of our countrymen since then,—we do not say of those only who are attached conscientiously to our Church, but likewise indi-

rectly and unobserved by themselves, of those who tolerate her doctrine and practice in order to preach to her congregations,—must, we feel sure, be surprised that they are so few and of so little weight. The devoted labours, the extraordinary endowments, and the earnest prayers of a faithful band of brothers, have not been altogether in vain towards rousing a slumbering and self-satisfied Church; and though feelings of the acutest pain will mingle themselves, at a retrospect of these eventful years, we must still rejoice to find that such as we were taught from earliest youth the Church of this land to be, such as her faithful historians represented her,—the same in tenets, and in spiritual privileges has the fiercest controversy of the age proved that she remains to the present day.

ART. II.—1. *The Apostles' School of Prophetic Interpretation.* By CHARLES MAITLAND. London: Longman, Brown & Co. 1849.

2. *Prophetic Outlines of the Christian Church and the Antichristian Power, as traced in the Visions of Daniel and S. John; in Twelve Lectures preached in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn, on the Foundation of Bishop Warburton.* By BENJAMIN HARRISON, M.A. London: Rivingtons. 1849.

3 *Lectures on the Apocalypse.* By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D. London: Rivingtons. 1849.

It is no uncommon error in the choice of studies, to fix on those in which we imagine that we can become knowing at a small expenditure of time and attention. Indeed it is not long since that really abstruse and difficult branch of biblical interpretation which relates to unfulfilled or partially fulfilled prophecy was pursued by many with this vain hope. Innumerable schemes, exposed by failures as innumerable, have somewhat damped the ardour of the religious public for the lighter prophetic literature, and it has now come to be pretty generally acknowledged that the study is one of the severest labour and most untiring patience; one in which even the adept, if any can be so called, must submit to uncertainty, and in which the novice must either be silent, or speak with the utmost caution and modesty.

This is, however, no bad sign for the future, as we shall see if we well consider the ordinary laws of the progress of knowledge among mankind, which have their operation, though under limits, even in the case of sacred and revealed learning. The individual man is incomplete in himself, and cannot work out his own ideas without the assistance of the age. Plutarch could suggest that the moon was retained in its orbit by the force of gravity, but he did not live in an age of weighing and measuring. He was incapable of calculating the force he was able to imagine, and his true conjecture remained a solitary and barren thought for centuries. The same thought in the mind of Newton, who added to his singular genius the acquirements of a mathematically mechanical age, has opened to us the whole architecture of the universe. Only those who have studied the progress of science are aware how near mankind had approached to the Newtonian theory before it flashed upon their consciousness through the effort of a master mind. Many steps had been taken similar to those achieved by our great

countryman, though less gigantic, and much ground made sure before he could take his stand firmly on the data of Copernicus and the laws of Kepler.

And if sacred studies admit less of conjecture and discovery, they are even therefore the more open to the operation of this general law. We stand in them upon what our fathers have done for us, and if we would advance beyond them we must not despise them. In the case of prophecy, indeed, though we do not look for fresh revelations, we may well expect that the course of events will be not a little instructive. And we may even rather look for the chief advancing steps in knowledge from the development of the scheme of Providence, than from the felicity of human conjecture. It is true that in this way he that increaseth knowledge is likely to increase sorrow, for the events that bring great things to light are apt to be themselves terrible, and the cheering light of prophecy is cast upon the darkest stages of the Church's history. Cheering, we may say, it is, even when it foretells trouble; for trouble foretold is trouble measured and limited, and those to whom it is foretold are the objects of a special Providence. But let every man think well before he wishes that his own lot may fall on the days of the fulfilment of prophecy, and count the cost, and learn to live above the world. For on those that eat and drink, buy and sell, marry and are given in marriage, those days will come full of astonishment and dread.

There is, however, a stage in the general apprehension of prophetic truth short of that full understanding which results from a striking and recent fulfilment, and which comes more within the range of the ordinary laws of human thought, although doubtless in great measure brought about by the silent suggestions of the Spirit and the illuminations of grace. There is a certain state of expectation and preparedness, that comes before the cardinal changes of the Divine dispensations, and contemplates them dimly as they approach, so as to receive them the more devoutly when they come, and to work with them in will and in moral attitude before they are distinctly imaged in the intellect. This state is most fully and clearly depicted in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles; and what we there read is most valuable to us in this way amongst others—that it shows us the true state and temper of the children of God when they have to wait His time for promised mercies, and to live upon hopes which they are not able to comprehend. And this imperfect yet not fallacious apprehension is most especially the inheritance of the Church, and is to be nourished by communion with her universal thought and feeling, as well as with those supernatural sources from which all that is truly and

generically hers must descend. We know not how long may be the period of these 'last days,' but we are distinctly taught to cultivate that spirit of expectation which looks beyond the present,—not in vain hope of amelioration of outward circumstances, but in the sure prospect of final deliverance,—combined with preparation for severe trial, and thankfulness if we are spared any that is too much for our strength, or aided to endure that which is allotted us. In thus realizing our own responsibility, in connexion with a deep conviction that we are in the hands of our heavenly Father, and are at once fulfilling His purposes and provided for in them, we are raised above the temptations of vain curiosity, and cautioned against the presumption of making hasty affirmations. And it is in casting ourselves unreservedly upon a personal faith in Him who is the only Revealer of secrets, that we are most sure to attain those true, though perhaps indistinct, impressions of the nature and meaning of His predictions which will enable us to discern the signs of the times, and to prepare for the future, and meet each coming crisis as He has willed. Human theories of systematic perfection may be as tempting and as deceptive to us now as were notions of temporal monarchy and worldly prosperity to the carnal Jews. Nor are special antipathies less likely to prove fertile sources of error, if we are weak enough to allow ourselves too readily to apply the denunciations of prophecy to what we happen ourselves to disapprove; or to see in its emblems of warning those parties or systems to which we happen to be opposed.

Indeed, we might be inclined to wonder that the trumpet of Divine prediction should not give a more certain sound, and that we should so often be unable to discern the real bearing and direction of its utterances. But surely this is in great measure the consequence of our own sins and worldly dispositions, which set us wrongly and unreasonably against one another. And a partial remedy, at least, may be found in carrying on our investigations in a Catholic and humble spirit, and expecting such notices of coming events as may concern and edify the whole Church of God, while we leave the exact nature of what is to come in the same kind of obscurity in which it appears to have been involved in those ancient times, in which men waited for the consolation of Israel much as we have now to wait. Their doubts were solved by events, and remained doubts up to the very instant of their becoming aware of signal fulfilments of prophecy. It is true, they had no occasion to write books on the subject as we do; though indeed some of the Jewish commentaries before the Christian era are not to be despised in respect of their prophetic interpretation. In general, it was

a matter of private devotional thought, or familiar converse with wife and friends, not so much of preaching or publication. But we must have something to say, some account to be given to others, who are anxious and expectant like ourselves, but who have less means of knowledge, or who wish to compare their thoughts with ours. It is not an unreasonable feeling, nor is it unreasonable to expect that there will be some right and suitable means provided for its indulgence within due limits, since it probably has not been given us in vain. And some scope, at least, is given to it through the multifarious character of modern thought and composition, and the variety of aspects under which it views all beings and events. Again, the very multitude of erroneous views in circulation at once afford exercise of thought and speech in discovering and applying their correction, and indirectly conduce to the strengthening and clearing of right impressions. When you have learned that such and such a prophecy does not mean this, which such an one has said it means, you have made no inconsiderable advance towards understanding what it does mean, although the true explanation may yet be withheld from you. Again, the practical lessons of prophecy may be clear, where the interpretation remains under inextricable doubt, since it is not always material toward the practical conclusions of faith whether the objects presented to its vision are near or distant, provided that they are foreseen as certainly future.

Thus, however small may be the 'vindemiatio' of our students of prophecy, it is not right to stigmatise their labours as unprofitable and futile. If they were wise, they scarcely ever began with the expectation of being enabled to prophesy for themselves; and if they ever entertained so bold a thought, and then found it disappointed, it was not therefore time to desist. If prophecy were never to be studied till we could give an accurate system of its application, its volumes might remain closed till antichrist had grasped the sceptre of the world; and the faithful would have at once to learn the prediction and to meet the event in days that might perchance make both study and communication difficult, and might call for determination more suddenly than to allow time for informing the judgment.

It is the more seasonable to take a view thus tending to encourage at least some attention to this great field of thought and inquiry, when we have writers coming forward, whose calmness, whose critical power, whose zeal for truth, whose range of thought, or whose sound principles of investigation cannot but command our respect. And the three who are named at the head of this article have each their claims for a careful perusal, and those claims by no means contemptible. The diligent

comparison and patient thought that appear everywhere in Archdeacon Harrison's Lectures, are at least likely to have fixed some points in fulfilled prophecy to their true application, and this he seems to have done in fact successfully in some cases, in correction of the bold and able, but sometimes rather too destructive criticism of Dr. Todd. The very title of Dr. Maitland's book seems to announce a fact almost startling to ears that have been used to a succession of novelties. Has there been all along an 'Apostolic school of prophetic interpretation?' Where have we been, then, these thousand years and more, searching far and wide for what was to be found near home? There may, however, be some difference of opinion, after reading the evidence, how far the Apostolic certainty descends, and where some suspicions of fallible tradition must be allowed to creep in. Still, the work is not altogether unworthy of its title,—no mean praise, when the title connects it with the highest authority, and seems to promise satisfaction, where the very greatest intellects have been in doubt or error. Dr. Wordsworth has the claims of a diligent and critical student of the Apocalypse, an edition of which enters into the plan of his work, and of an orthodox and practical divine. His controversial tendencies are so strong as to form something of a drawback; but his views are at least well thought out, and carefully compared with their groundwork, and strikingly carried on to their practical results.

The Apostles undoubtedly claim our first hearing, and on their account Dr. Maitland must be admitted to speak for himself, even on a *primâ facie* claim to be their representative. And he is at least worth hearing, although it may be possible, in some cases, to set up a counter-claim. Dr. Wordsworth has attempted this, on a point which appears to be, in Dr. Maitland's view, by no means indifferent; but, after all the deductions we have to make, it must be owned that Dr. Maitland's array of evidence is somewhat the stronger of the two. Dr. Maitland is a (moderate and reasonable) Millenarian, and has a strong bias in favour of the literal interpretation of those portions of prophecy which appear to indicate a millennium. In reckoning up his witnesses on that side, he fearlessly cites among the first S. John himself, and may thus, of course, be accused of begging the question. And an impartial reader will undoubtedly, in judging between him and an opponent, leave out of the evidence, so far as weighing names is concerned, the very persons whose words are to be interpreted. Such a reader will also see, if he keeps his eyes equally open in another quarter, that Dr. Wordsworth, who is as decidedly anti-millenarian, has more than once blinked the distinction between a millennium, and a *carnal* millennium, and has unfairly cited the English Church as con-

demning the very notion of a millennium as a heresy, when she never meant to censure anything but the wild and detestable extravagances of certain 'Latter-day Saints,' who were about as respectable as the Mormonites. As the world goes at present, we must put up with a little partisanship, and if we must have it, certainly the good-humoured and somewhat pressing advocacy of Dr. Maitland is more tolerable than the solemn over-reaching of such an attempt at 'prescription' as Dr. Wordsworth has made in this instance. Its manifest unfairness ought to be a warning to him in future dealings with controversy.

In spite of this prejudice in favour of 'the millennial hope,' Dr. Maitland's is a real attempt to ascertain the evidence of an apostolic school of interpretation, and one that cannot be pronounced a failure. He has availed himself of the materials already generally known, with no small diligence, and has, farther, pressed into the service a host of writers known only in fragments recently brought to light. The *Catenæ*, which had been awaked from the slumbers of the Vatican by the industry of a Maii, still needed a living expositor to make them known and appreciated by the Church of the nineteenth century; and they have found one able and laborious enough to introduce them effectually into notice. They do not, however, bear so much upon the particular question of the millennium as upon some others. It may be worth while to place his summary on this point in comparison with the statements of Dr. Wordsworth, who also professes a certain deference to ancient authority, though he does not distinctly maintain the theory of an original tradition of the true interpretation of prophecy, of which traces are still to be found.

'Before dismissing the primitive writers, we should notice accurately the amount of agreement prevailing among them in reference to, 1st. the thousand years of S. John, and 2d, the last half week of Daniel.

"Those who have recorded their opinion for or against the millennium may thus be classed:—

FOR.
S. Barnabas.
Papias.
Justin.
Irenæus.
Tertullian,
Hippolytus.
Nepos.

Cyprian.

Victorinus.
Lactantius.

AGAINST.

Origen.
Dionysius.

'But on which side shall we range S. John? Were he uninspired, nothing could be more decisive than his statement:—"They lived and reigned with

Christ a thousand years." Have we at length come to this, that because we reckon him inspired, the plain sense of his words is to go for nothing?

The two writers who appear in opposition to the doctrine, are not altogether unexceptionable. The system by which Origen contrived to get rid of the millennium was soon branded with the name of Origenism, having been found to interfere with the belief in the literal resurrection of the flesh. Nor can Dionysius be justified in his method of dealing with the Apocalypse: for, not daring to revile it in his own name, he repeats with satisfaction the saying of "certain persons," that the book itself is devoid of sense and reason: also, that its title is utterly false, since it is neither written by S. John, nor does it, covered as it is with a thick and dense veil of ignorance, deserve the title of a Revelation.—*Maitland*, pp. 201, 202.

'A.D. circ. 150.

'The defence of Christianity was next taken up by Justin the Martyr. A point at issue between Jews and Christians was the Millennium, on which subject Justin thus states the belief of the Church:—

"With all perfectly orthodox Christians, I acknowledge the future resurrection of the flesh. Now the thousand years in Jerusalem, when it shall be built up, adorned, and enlarged, are declared by the prophets Ezekiel, Esaias, and others. For thus did Esaias speak of that thousand years: There shall be a new heaven and a new earth, and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind, &c. . .

"We know also the saying, that a day of the Lord is as a thousand years. Moreover, one of our own people, named John, an Apostle of Christ, prophesied in the Apocalypse that for those who believe in our Christ there will be a thousand years in Jerusalem; and afterwards there will come the catholic, or universal and simultaneous, resurrection and judgment of all men."

'In this matter of the millennium the Jews and the Christians appear to have changed sides: for the doctrine, first maintained by the Church against the Jews, was soon discarded by the Church as a fiction of Jewish origin. The following slight sketch of the controversy will illustrate the change:—

'A.D.

'75. Barnabas teaches the millennium.

'96. S. John also.

'150. Justin Martyr supports it against the Jews.

'400. Jerome styles it a Jewish fiction.

'450. Ammonius launches out against the Jews for expecting another Christ to bring about their millennium: "Vainly do they imagine they will reign with Antichrist a thousand years: he will not flourish longer than three and a half."

'1,000. The book Zoar teaches the millennium; also most of the Rabbinical works.—*Maitland*, pp. 137, 138.

'So deeply rooted was this expectation of a temporal reign, even in the hearts of the Apostles, at the very close of Christ's ministry, that the last question which they are recorded in Scripture to have addressed to Him was,—“Lord, wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?” Again, this literal mode of interpretation produced another misapprehension concerning S. John himself. “If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?” said our Blessed Lord of him. “Then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die.” They understood *literally* what our Lord had spoken *figuratively*. It was for S. Peter to *follow* Christ to the cross, but for S. John to *tarry till Christ came*, and took Him to himself by a natural death: and, in a higher spiritual sense, S. John was to *tarry* in the world, in his Gospel and in his Apocalypse, which reveals the history of

the Church even to the end; and thus S. John tarries with us till Christ comes.

‘Still further: It is well known that an opinion was entertained by many of the Jewish Rabbis, from whom it was borrowed by some early Christian teachers, that as the world was created in six days, which were succeeded by a seventh of rest, so it would endure for six millenary periods, to be followed by a Sabbatical Millennium. It will appear, from these considerations, that many of the primitive Christians, especially those of Jewish extraction, were *predisposed* to misunderstand, in a carnal sense, the prophecies concerning the Second Advent: and we shall not be surprised that such an exposition of the twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse should have been adopted by Cerinthus, who is called by the Fathers *half a Jew*; or by Papias, who was more eminent for zeal than for some other qualities which are requisite in an interpreter of Scripture; or by others, however learned, who passed from the Synagogue into the Church.

‘Such, then, was the origin of the doctrine of the Millennium.

‘Papias, by reason of his piety and antiquity, exercised great influence. Eusebius expressly testifies that the propagation of this dogma was mainly due to him. We need not wonder that it should have been embraced by Tertullian, whose Montanistic bias prepossessed him in its favour; nor that it should have been, *in some respects*, sanctioned by Justin Martyr, when we recollect his Jewish extraction, and his Platonic training; nor that it should have been adopted by Lactantius, who appears to have derived it from the Sibylline oracles; nor even that it should have found, *to a certain extent*, an advocate in Irenæus, paying, as he himself informs us, a tribute of respect to Papias, the companion of Polycarp, the scholar of S. John.

‘Let us pause here to observe two facts.

‘First; that no doubt was entertained by any of these parties, to whom we have now referred, concerning the *genuineness* and *inspiration* of the Apocalypse. They all received it as a work of the Apostle and Evangelist, S. John. And to speak only of *one* of them, Papias. Whatever may be thought of his authority with respect to a question of *doctrine*, yet it must be regarded as high, concerning this matter of *fact*. He might easily, from previous impression, or from defect of judgment, or insufficient care, be deceived as to the *meaning* of a particular passage in such a book as the Apocalypse. But, living as he did at Hierapolis, in Asia, the country to which the Apocalypse was first sent, and within a few years after it was written, he *could not* easily have been mistaken with regard to the *fact of its authorship*. And when we remember that his evidence on this fact is corroborated, as we shall show hereafter, by other witnesses of the same country and age, his testimony appears to prove beyond the possibility of a doubt that the author of the Apocalypse was S. John.

‘The second circumstance to which I refer is this: No sooner were Millenarian doctrines imputed to the Apocalypse, than the Apocalypse itself declined in repute.

‘I do not say that it was rejected. But it was felt that these Millenarian doctrines were inconsistent with the *general teaching* of Holy Scripture; and hence many in the Church began to show symptoms of restlessness and perplexity concerning the Apocalypse, to which these doctrines were ascribed. And it may be added, that the feeling of distrust and anxiety, produced by the same causes, still lingers in the minds of some, even to this day, and operates to the prejudice of this divine book.

‘The case of the Apocalypse in this respect is similar to that of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Both these books were received as divine *as soon* as they were *written*. But doctrines, inconsistent with the plain drift of Scripture taken as a whole, were imputed by some to them both. For example, the *Novatian* heretics fixed on the sixth chapter of the Epistle to the

Hebrews. Here they entrenched themselves, and planted the standard of their heterodoxy. So the Millenarians thought themselves impregnable in the twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse.

'And what was the consequence ?

'Both these books of Scripture, being thus misinterpreted, were in danger of being discredited, and were rejected by some even otherwise *orthodox* writers. Instead of examining whether these two books *did or did not teach* the erroneous doctrines ascribed to them, the persons to whom I now refer, were unhappily over-reached by the bold assertions of their opponents, and cut short the matter by surrendering these books as apocryphal. Thus, for instance, Caius, a celebrated Roman Presbyter at the commencement of the third century, in his controversy with Proclus, a follower of Montanus, abandoned the Epistle to the Hebrews. And it is remarkable that the Montanists, who built their stern unrelenting discipline of penance on the sixth chapter of that Epistle, based their Millenarian doctrines on the twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse ; and that this same Roman Presbyter, who gave up the Epistle to the Hebrews, not only surrendered the Apocalypse, but even was carried so far, in his hatred of the Millenarian doctrines imputed to it, as to ascribe it, either in whole or in part, to the Judaizing heretic, Cerinthus.

'For such reasons as these, doubts were entertained in the Church of Rome concerning these books. And let us observe, in passing, that if the Church of Rome had really been, as she professes to be, the sole *Guardian of Scripture*, and if Scripture *depended* upon her for its authority, as she pretends, then Christendom would have been in great danger of losing two Books of the New Testament,—the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse.

'Next, let us remark the subtlety of the Arch-Enemy of man in his aggressions against the Word of God. He not only inspired heretics to compose *false books*, and to propagate *them* as Scripture, but he tempted them to *pervert* Scripture by *false interpretations* ; and thus he made Scripture itself appear to be heretical. Nor was this all : he tempted even such pious men as Papias unwittingly to abet their artifices by an overweening zeal for oral tradition ; and he tempted such learned men as Caius to abandon portions of Scripture, because they had been perverted by heretics ! Let us observe, also, the striking fact, that this very chapter—the twentieth of the Apocalypse—in which Satan is represented as a captive, bound by the chain in the hand of Christ, and as cast by Him into the bottomless pit, was perverted by Satan into an occasion of triumph to himself against the Church, in causing thereby the temporary and partial rejection of the book in which the prophecy of his own doom is contained.

'Behold here, my beloved brethren, a most striking proof of Satan's craft and of human weakness !

'But, now, mark the glorious operation of God's Providence in vindicating His own Word !

'The manner in which the Epistle to the Hebrews was retrieved has engaged our attention in a former Lecture. We speak now of the Apocalypse.

'The same person was employed by Almighty God in maintaining the inspiration and genuineness of both these Sacred Books—the learned teacher of Alexandria, Origen. He showed that the Apocalypse had been misinterpreted. He gave its *true* exposition, and so restored it to the Church.

'The school of Origen gave birth to Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, one of the greatest Doctors of the Church, in the third century ; distinguished alike by learning and charity.

'It appears, that in his age Millenarian doctrines had spread themselves widely in Africa. Inspired with zeal for the souls committed to his care,

he repaired in person to the Churches in which these opinions prevailed, and summoned the Clergy of his diocese to a conference, at which many of the laity also were present. A book, in which those tenets were promulged, was made the subject of patient discussion for three days. The Bishop tested each of its propositions by Scripture, and carefully examined the allegations of the Millenarians. The result was most gratifying. The Clergy thankfully acknowledged the benefit they had derived from their Bishop's fatherly care; and the principal champion of Millenarianism among them ingenuously retracted his opinions, and acknowledged that they had no foundation in the Word of God.—*Wordsworth*, pp. 8—17.

He proceeds to quote S. Jerome and S. Augustine—

‘Perhaps no more valuable commentary on any portion of Scripture, certainly no more interesting one, can be found, than that which was written on the twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse, amid the storm of arms, by the aged Bishop of Hippo. It will be found in the twentieth book of his work on the City of God. Let me commend it to your careful perusal.

‘In it S. Augustine taught, as Origen, Dionysius and Jerome had done before him, that the Apocalypse is the Word of God; and that the doctrine of the Millennium is not in the Apocalypse.

‘The question *seemed* now at rest. It was generally regarded as heretical, either to reject the Apocalypse, or to believe a Millennium.

‘And such *was* the case for a thousand years from that time. But, alas! after their expiration, amid the many extravagances which marred the beauty, and crippled the power, and damaged the success, of the Reformation of Religion in certain parts of Europe, in the sixteenth century, the doctrine of the Millennium was *revived*. It soon bore its fruits. It showed itself not only in religious fanaticism, but also in civil licentiousness. Some who held it in that age, and in the next century, affirmed that the era of a fifth Monarchy had now dawned on the world; that all other governments must be overthrown to make way for the reign of the Elect; and that they *themselves* were the Saints, the glories of whose Millennial reign were predicted in such glowing colours by S. John in the Apocalypse.’—Pp. 20—22.

Of course this subject occupies so large a place in both works, that it would be hardly possible to give a full view of the arguments and testimony on both sides. While, however, it must be confessed that we can have no certainty of an actual apostolic tradition on the subject; nor, indeed, of the fact of the Apostles having understood their own prophecies and visions beyond the very words and symbols they have transmitted; some weight must still be allowed to the absence of any appearance of an anti-literal *tradition* in this matter, and the early prevalence of a literal interpretation. It is true there are anti-literal conclusions, and those brought out by men of weight, in opposition to the extravagances of certain carnal literalists. But these would not be solitary instances if we were to suppose them to have been over-refinements, ably devised to meet a particular error, but not really necessary to the defence of truth. The writings, even of great Fathers, abound in such statements, which any tolerable judgment can discern from their actual delivery of doctrine, as handed down to them in the Church by uniform and undoubted tradition.

It is true Dr. Wordsworth has one real argument on his side, that presents a serious difficulty for Millenarians to explain. It is the occurrence of a resurrection before the Millennium. His own view of it he gives at p. 52 :—

“And I saw Thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them. And I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years. But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first Resurrection. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first Resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with Him a thousand years.”¹

‘Let us now consider these words.

‘First, let us observe that they are *not* spoken of the *bodies* of the saints, but of their *souls*. “I saw the souls of them who had been beheaded for the witness of Jesus.” This must be carefully borne in mind, because the error of the Millenarians is mainly due to neglect of this distinction. They have imagined a *bodily*² resurrection, whereas S. John is speaking of a *spiritual* one.³

‘Secondly. It is not said that these souls lived *again*, but simply that they *lived*,⁴ and *reigned with Christ*.

‘It is clear, then, that what is here said, is spoken not of a *corporeal*, but of a *spiritual Resurrection*.

‘Thirdly. Let us recollect, that such is the nearness and dearness of all faithful Christians to Christ, that *His* exaltation is represented in Scripture as *theirs*. Christ said to Saul, when persecuting the members of His Church, “Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?”⁵ And He says to us, “Inasmuch as ye do it to one of the least of these my brethren, ye do it unto Me”⁶ And as Christ suffers with His members on earth, so are they glorified with Him in heaven. He is persecuted in them; and they *reign* with Him.’—Pp. 52—54.

This is perhaps as difficult to receive in interpretation of the prophecy, as some notion of the resurrection spoken of being *actually corporeal* and *external*, but not *visible to men in this mortal state*. Without affirming this to be the meaning, it may at least be suggested as a conceivable answer to a seemingly formidable objection. And it may be remembered, that such

¹ ‘Rev. xx. 4—6.’

² ‘Compare Lightfoot, Harmony of New Test. and Rev. xx. “Here is a Resurrection, but not of *bodies*, but of *souls*. The *souls* of those that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus lived and reigned; and this is called the *first* resurrection.” He observes that there is some figurative language in Ezekiel xxxvii.; the latter part of which book resembles the latter part of the Apocalypse. There is a *spiritual* resurrection; Gog and Magog; and a new Jerusalem in both. Many of the Jews erroneously understood Ezekiel’s vision of the dry bones literally, as many Christians interpret the first Resurrection in a like sense. It may be added, that the second death is a phrase used by the Jews. Onkelos renders Deut. xxxiii. 6, thus: “Let Reuben live, and not die; i.e. the second death.” See Lightfoot in Rev. xx.’

³ ‘S. Aug. in C. D. xx. 7. De duabus resurrectionibus Joannes Evangelista in Apocalypsi eo modo locutus est, ut earum *prima* a quibusdam nostris *non intellecta* insuper etiam in quasdam *ridiculas fabulas verteretur*.’

⁴ ‘*ἡ αἰὶς ἔσται*, Rev. xx. 5.’

⁵ ‘Acts ix. 4.’

⁶ ‘Matt. xxv. 40.’

inconsistencies are to be expected in prophecy, from the examples given in the predictions relating to our Saviour himself, such as that He should be the Son, and yet the Lord of David. These seeming inconsistencies are the great keys of prophecy, when its fulfilment is sufficiently advanced to enable us to make use of them. Till then, their effect ought to be to restrain our presumption and self-confidence, and keep us patiently waiting for what it may please God to reveal by the course of His providence. Still they may be quoted in connexion or contradiction of a false exposition, provided that we always bear in mind, that the Divine purpose may yet have new combinations in store, and that we are almost sure to be unable perfectly to anticipate the very next phase of revelation, though we may be equally sure that it is really foreshadowed.

The general prevalence of a literal interpretation in early times is not a sufficient proof of its truth. We do not easily realize the Jewish state, and the extent of the influence of national feeling on the minds of the Apostles themselves. There are those, indeed, who would overrate this, and pretend to measure the movements of those who were certainly in a supernatural state by the elements and forces of nature. But these are to be met, not by a denial of those influences which were most certainly in action, but by admitting all that is true or reasonable, while we maintain that the supernatural graces and illuminations of the Gospel are not therefore rendered either improbable, *a priori*, or impossible to be traced in fact.

The predictive discourse of our Lord on the sight of the buildings of the Temple, rightly viewed, conveys this lesson with much force. The condescension to national feelings and carnal apprehensions is evident, yet the purpose of elevating the mind to more distant and spiritual objects is no less discernible, and the deliberate intention of making a partial and not a complete revelation is most manifest. It may be worth while to point out one important expression which is very likely to escape the English reader, and which has, in fact, escaped the attention of some who have given real thought to the exposition of the prophecy. A Greek writer, on the other hand, would be likely to pass it over from its very obviousness, and to assume that no reader could help perceiving it. Our translators appear to have intended to mark it by the new paragraph:—

Matt. xxiv. 34. 'Verily I say unto you, This generation shall
' not pass, till all *these* things be fulfilled.

' 35 Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall
' not pass away.

' 36 ¶ But of *that* day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the
' angels of heaven, but my Father only.'

The English reader might easily imagine that *that* day meant the day when *these* things should take place. But the distinction of the Greek pronouns, here imperfectly represented by the emphasis of italics, renders a different meaning by far the more natural, and points clearly to a distinction between the different parts of the foregoing prophecy, and an indefinite interval of time between them. Archdeacon Harrison has touched on this point in a note to his eighth lecture :—

‘ It appears to me, that these words of our Blessed Lord will not admit of any interpretation, other than that which would refer them to the generation then living. The words, as they stand in S. Matthew, are Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, [ὅτι, Mark and Luke] οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη ἕως ἂν [μέχρις οὗ, Mark] πάντα ταῦτα γένηται [ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται, Luke]. The concluding verb is, perhaps, best rendered in our version, in S. Mark’s Gospel, “till all these things be *done*.” I cannot think that ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη can be understood of the Jewish nation, through many generations, or of the human race. It would appear that, down to this point in His prophecy, our Blessed Lord is answering His disciples’ question as to “the sign of” His “coming,” and then proceeds to speak of that other day of His *final* coming, and “of the end of the world.” And upon this, it would seem, He enters in the following verse, in which it is said, “But of that day and hour knoweth no man,” &c.—Pp. 424, 425.

It must be admitted, however, and may be admitted simply as a fact, and without the slightest disparagement to the prophecy, which was given according to the dispensation of Him who gave it, that the point of division is not marked with perfect clearness. In fact, there is a difference of opinion to this day as to the application of that part of it which relates to the ‘abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet.’ Dr. Maitland lays stress on the flight of the Christians of Jerusalem to Pella, and not to the mountains, as an evidence that the Roman invasion was not the calamity intended. In Matt. xxiv. 16, however, it is not those in Jerusalem, but those in Judæa, that are bid fly to the mountains; and this may have been intended to give a warning even prior to the final siege. But S. Cyril, of Jerusalem, (Maitland, p. 213,) supposes the abomination yet to come, and such is the opinion of Dr. Maitland himself :—

‘ The New Testament writers, even when delivering fresh predictions, sometimes take occasion to expound Old Testament prophecies. These inspired expositions, being the basis of all true understanding of the subject, must be first examined.

‘ A.D. 29.

‘ The phrase, “the abomination of desolation,” though several times paraphrased in the Septuagint Daniel, occurs in that precise form twice only: once in chap. xi. 31, and again in chap. xii. : “The abomination of the desolation shall be given for 1,290 days.” From our Lord’s manner of quoting Daniel, “the abomination of the desolation, *the* spoken of by Daniel,” (Gr.) it appears that all these abominations are one, though

he repaired in person to the Churches in which these opinions prevailed, and summoned the Clergy of his diocese to a conference, at which many of the laity also were present. A book, in which those tenets were promulgated, was made the subject of patient discussion for three days. The Bishop tested each of its propositions by Scripture, and carefully examined the allegations of the Millenarians. The result was most gratifying. The Clergy thankfully acknowledged the benefit they had derived from their Bishop's fatherly care; and the principal champion of Millenarianism among them ingenuously retracted his opinions, and acknowledged that they had no foundation in the Word of God.'—*Wordsworth*, pp. 8—17.

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“Secondly. It is not said that these souls lived *again*, but simply that they *lived*,⁴ and *reigned with Christ*.

“It is clear, then, that what is here said, is spoken not of a *corporeal*, but of a *spiritual Resurrection*.

“Thirdly. Let us recollect, that such is the nearness and dearness of all faithful Christians to Christ, that *His* exaltation is represented in Scripture as *theirs*. Christ said to Saul, when persecuting the members of His Church, “Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?”⁵ And He says to us, “Inasmuch as ye do it to one of the least of these my brethren, ye do it unto Me”⁶ And as Christ suffers with His members on earth, so are they glorified with Him in heaven. He is persecuted in them; and they *reign* with Him.”—Pp. 52—54.

This is perhaps as difficult to receive in interpretation of the prophecy, as some notion of the resurrection spoken of being *actually corporeal* and *external*, but not *visible to men in this mortal state*. Without affirming this to be the meaning, it may at least be suggested as a conceivable answer to a seemingly formidable objection. And it may be remembered, that such

¹ ‘Rev. xx. 4—6.’

² ‘Compare Lightfoot, Harmony of New Test. and Rev. xx. “Here is a Resurrection, but not of *bodies*, but of *souls*. The *souls* of those that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus lived and reigned; and this is called the *first* resurrection.” He observes that there is some figurative language in Ezekiel xxxvii.; the latter part of which book resembles the latter part of the Apocalypse. There is a *spiritual* resurrection; Gog and Magog; and a new Jerusalem in both. Many of the Jews erroneously understood Ezekiel’s vision of the dry bones literally, as many Christians interpret the first Resurrection in a like sense. It may be added, that the second death is a phrase used by the Jews. Onkelos renders Deut. xxxiii. 6, thus: “Let Reuben live, and not die; i.e. the second death.” See Lightfoot in Rev. xx.’

³ ‘S. Aug. in C. D. xx. 7. De duabus resurrectionibus Joannes Evangelista in Apocalypsi eo modo locutus est, ut earum *prima* a quibusdam nostris *non intellecta* insuper etiam in quasdam *ridiculas fabulas vertitur*.’

⁴ ‘καὶ ἔζησαν, Rev. xx. 5.’

⁵ ‘Acts ix. 4.’

⁶ ‘Matt. xxv. 40.’

inconsistencies are to be expected in prophecy, from the examples given in the predictions relating to our Saviour himself, such as that He should be the Son, and yet the Lord of David. These seeming inconsistencies are the great keys of prophecy, when its fulfilment is sufficiently advanced to enable us to make use of them. Till then, their effect ought to be to restrain our presumption and self-confidence, and keep us patiently waiting for what it may please God to reveal by the course of His providence. Still they may be quoted in connexion or contradiction of a false exposition, provided that we always bear in mind, that the Divine purpose may yet have new combinations in store, and that we are almost sure to be unable perfectly to anticipate the very next phase of revelation, though we may be equally sure that it is really foreshadowed.

The general prevalence of a literal interpretation in early times is not a sufficient proof of its truth. We do not easily realize the Jewish state, and the extent of the influence of national feeling on the minds of the Apostles themselves. There are those, indeed, who would overrate this, and pretend to measure the movements of those who were certainly in a supernatural state by the elements and forces of nature. But these are to be met, not by a denial of those influences which were most certainly in action, but by admitting all that is true or reasonable, while we maintain that the supernatural graces and illuminations of the Gospel are not therefore rendered either improbable, *a priori*, or impossible to be traced in fact.

The predictive discourse of our Lord on the sight of the buildings of the Temple, rightly viewed, conveys this lesson with much force. The condescension to national feelings and carnal apprehensions is evident, yet the purpose of elevating the mind to more distant and spiritual objects is no less discernible, and the deliberate intention of making a partial and not a complete revelation is most manifest. It may be worth while to point out one important expression which is very likely to escape the English reader, and which has, in fact, escaped the attention of some who have given real thought to the exposition of the prophecy. A Greek writer, on the other hand, would be likely to pass it over from its very obviousness, and to assume that no reader could help perceiving it. Our translators appear to have intended to mark it by the new paragraph:—

Matt. xxiv. 34. 'Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass, till all *these* things be fulfilled.

'35 Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.

'36 ¶ But of *that* day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only.'

The English reader might easily imagine that *that* day meant the day when *these* things should take place. But the distinction of the Greek pronouns, here imperfectly represented by the emphasis of italics, renders a different meaning by far the more natural, and points clearly to a distinction between the different parts of the foregoing prophecy, and an indefinite interval of time between them. Archdeacon Harrison has touched on this point in a note to his eighth lecture :—

‘ It appears to me, that these words of our Blessed Lord will not admit of any interpretation, other than that which would refer them to the generation then living. The words, as they stand in S. Matthew, are Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, [ὅτι, Mark and Luke] οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἡ γεγενῆσθαι αὐτῇ ἕως ἂν [μέχρις οὖν, Mark] πάντα ταῦτα γένηται [ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται, Luke]. The concluding verb is, perhaps, best rendered in our version, in S. Mark’s Gospel, “ till all these things be *done*.” I cannot think that ἡ γεγενῆσθαι αὐτῇ can be understood of the Jewish nation, through many generations, or of the human race. It would appear that, down to this point in His prophecy, our Blessed Lord is answering His disciples’ question as to “ the sign of ” His “ coming,” and then proceeds to speak of that other day of His *final* coming, and “ of the end of the world.” And upon this, it would seem, He enters in the following verse, in which it is said, “ But of that day and hour knoweth no man,” &c.—Pp. 424, 425.

It must be admitted, however, and may be admitted simply as a fact, and without the slightest disparagement to the prophecy, which was given according to the dispensation of Him who gave it, that the point of division is not marked with perfect clearness. In fact, there is a difference of opinion to this day as to the application of that part of it which relates to the ‘ abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet.’ Dr. Maitland lays stress on the flight of the Christians of Jerusalem to Pella, and not to the mountains, as an evidence that the Roman invasion was not the calamity intended. In Matt. xxiv. 16, however, it is not those in Jerusalem, but those in Judæa, that are bid fly to the mountains; and this may have been intended to give a warning even prior to the final siege. But S. Cyril, of Jerusalem, (Maitland, p. 213,) supposes the abomination yet to come, and such is the opinion of Dr. Maitland himself :—

‘ The New Testament writers, even when delivering fresh predictions, sometimes take occasion to expound Old Testament prophecies. These inspired expositions, being the basis of all true understanding of the subject, must be first examined.

‘ A.D. 29.

‘ The phrase, “ the abomination of desolation,” though several times paraphrased in the Septuagint Daniel, occurs in that precise form twice only : once in chap. xi. 31, and again in chap. xii. : “ The abomination of the desolation shall be given for 1,290 days.” From our Lord’s manner of quoting Daniel, “ the abomination of the desolation, *the* spoken of by Daniel,” (Gr.) it appears that all these abominations are one, though

admitting of a secondary fulfilment. This calamity, as it appears from Dan. xii., will befall the Jewish nation in the end of the world: the Saviour's exposition makes the certainty doubly sure; for thus speaks He who hath the key of David: "When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, then let them which be in Judea flee to the mountains;" and as for the period at which this is to happen, it is added, that "immediately" after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened, and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven.

' This abomination is to stand "in the holy place," and, "where it ought not." These expressions, though plain enough to a Jew, throw us back upon Daniel for explanation. In the ninth chapter, according to the Seventy, it stands thus: "In the temple shall be the abomination of desolations." (v. 27.)

' S. Luke reports another saying having reference to the same event: "When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies." This siege is described at length in Zechariah xiv.: "I will gather all nations against Jerusalem to battle, and the city shall be taken, and the houses rifled." A comparison of the two passages shows that the New Testament prediction, though capable of a passing application to Titus or Adrian, refers to the siege in Zechariah. For, after it, says the Jewish prophet, the Lord shall go forth to fight with those nations: after that tribulation, says the Divine Teacher, shall the Son of man be seen. And, for the times of the Gentiles (left indefinite in S. Luke), we have to consult the Apocalypse, where it is said that the Gentiles shall tread under foot the holy city forty and two months. From this point the collation of the prophecies runs on smoothly: the standing on the mount of Olives, the great earthquake, and the mourning of the tribes, all these, when read by the New Testament light, become plain in their order and connexion.

' A.D. circ. 50.

' The famous conversation in Thessalonica, from the casual manner in which it is referred to, seems to have been an exposition of old prophecies rather than a formal delivery of new. If we take as the text the version of the Seventy, the passages commented on will appear to be the following:—

OLD TESTAMENT.

' He shall have intelligence with them, because they have forsaken the holy covenant. (Dan. xii.)

' And behold, eyes like man's eyes. (Dan. vii.)

' And the other king shall arise after them. (Dan. vii.)

' He shall speak words against the Most High. (Ch. vii.)

' And the king shall be exalted above every God. (Ch. xi.)

' He shall pitch his tent upon the mountain of the will of the Holy One. (Ch. xi.)

' In the temple shall be the abomination of desolation. (Ch. ix.)

' The fourth kingdom . . . and ten kings shall arise . . . and after them the other. (Ch. vii.)

ST. PAUL.

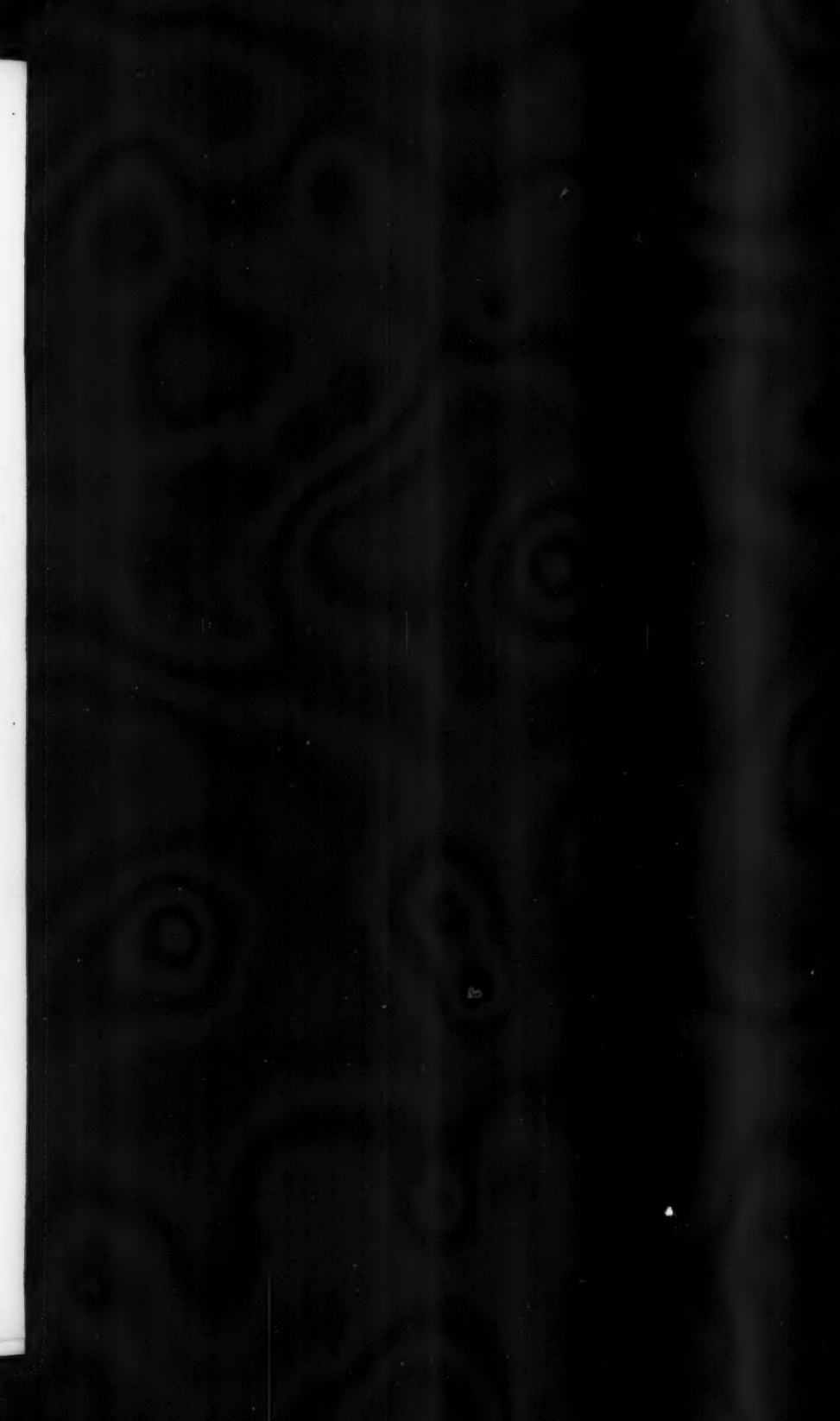
' There shall come first the apostasy.

' That Man of Sin shall be revealed.

' Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God.

' So that he sitteth in the temple of God.

' And now ye know what withholdeth.



' He shall smite the earth with the word of his mouth, and with the spirit of his lips he shall destroy that Wicked One. (Isaiah xi.)

' And then shall that Wicked One be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth.

' A.D. 64.

' At this time Rome is first called Babylon by St. Peter, who thus prepares his readers for the coming transfer of Old Testament prophecies in the Apocalypse. This use of the name is so entirely in conformity with the usual style of Rabbinical disguise, that the Apostle's meaning was never doubted till the fifteenth century.

' A.D. circ. 80.

' About this time the name Antichrist began to be applied to the Man of Sin. From S. John's method of introducing the word, it seems to have been already familiar to the Church: "Ye have heard that the Antichrist shall come." S. Paul's word, *Antikeimenos*, is the nearest approach to it in older writings.

' The Apostles, as it cannot fail to be remarked by the most hasty reader, uniformly describe the day of the Lord as close at hand; but, let any one misunderstand them, so as to *reckon* upon it coming in a few years, or within any given time, and at once they hasten to correct the mistake, and to explain their true meaning. Happily for our instruction, they were, even during their own lifetime, so far misunderstood by some, as to find it needful to lay down the principles of a more sober calculation:—That God's reckoning differs from man's in the proportion of a day to a thousand years; that what some men call slackness is with Him long-suffering; and yet that the last day, when it does come, shall come quickly, that is, suddenly, and like a thief in the night. Where the Saviour reveals one obstacle to His speedy coming, S. Paul adds two besides: not only must the Gospel be preached everywhere, but the letting power must be first removed, and the Man of Sin must next appear. Moreover, adds the Apostle, let none tell you, as if he had learnt it from me, that the last day is at hand; let none think that I meant it in my epistle; let no man deceive you by any means.

' Thus the Apostles, secure in the infallibility of their inspiration, so treated the subject as to convey precisely the same impression that their Master had left before them: for He, who said "Surely I come quickly," said also, "The end is not yet." To all, therefore, they say, Be ready; to the over-anxious, Be not troubled. Let no fond and frustrated hopes give a handle to the scoffer; but, above all, let no unexpected arrival of death or of judgment peril your eternal safety.'—Pp. 103—107.

Archdeacon Harrison, partly from his extreme caution, is less distinct:—

' But the description, in our Lord's prophecy, of the coming of the Son of man and the signs attending it, is still further carried on, in imagery strongly resembling that which, in the vision before us, follows immediately at the beginning of the next chapter upon the scene of terror revealed under the sixth seal. "And then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn," is the language of our Lord's prophecy already cited, "and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory. And He shall send His angels," the prophecy continues, "with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together His elect from one end of heaven to the other." Or, as it is in S. Mark, "And then shall He send His angels, and shall gather together His elect from the four

winds, from the uttermost part of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven." Let us compare with this the language of S. John's vision. "And after these things I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that the wind should not blow on the earth, nor on the sea, nor on any tree. And I saw another angel ascending from the east, having the seal of the living God: and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea, saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads. And I heard the number of them which were sealed: and there were sealed an hundred and forty and four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel." "The elect," spoken of by our Blessed Lord are, undoubtedly, the same with those "elect" for whose sake the days of tribulation should be shortened; that "remnant" of whom the prophet Joel had spoken, "whom the Lord" should "call;" "the remnant according to the election of grace," of whom the Apostle S. Paul speaks, comparing them with the seven thousand in the days of Elias; and who had obtained the salvation promised to Israel, when the great body of the nation of "Israel after the flesh" were cast away. Though the number of Israel were as the sand of the sea, a remnant only, as the prophet Isaiah had spoken, were to be saved; when the Almighty should "finish the work, and cut it short in righteousness," bringing to pass the "consumption, even determined, in the midst of all the land,"—"the consummation and that determined," as Daniel also had described it, to "be poured upon the desolate." A remnant was to be saved; a certain number, designated here as "a hundred and forty and four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel;" twelve thousand from every tribe (for so is the manner of Scripture to use definite numbers for indefinite), marking a certain election, a predetermined order and law of the Divine procedure in the mingled dispensation of mercy and judgment.

'And, looking to historical fact, we see that in that great assembly on the day of Pentecost, which formed the first-fruits of the Christian Church, there were "Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven." Again, when S. Paul was at Jerusalem, at another feast of Pentecost, some seven and twenty years afterwards, we find S. James, the "brother of our Lord," the first bishop of Jerusalem, and the elders of the Church there, telling him "how many thousands"—or rather, "myriads," tens of thousands—of Jews there were that believed: and the same S. James addresses his general Epistle "to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad." S. Peter also, in like manner, writes "to the elect strangers of the dispersion throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia;" and sends to them the salutation of "the Church which" was "at Babylon, elected together with" them. In these Epistles, as also in that of S. Paul to the Hebrews, the faithful remnant are addressed as those, who having themselves been called to undergo severe trials and persecutions, were to be preserved through days of vengeance which were coming on the disobedient, while the kingdom of Christ was drawing near in the more full manifestation of its power and glory. "Who are kept," says S. Peter, "by the power of God through faith unto salvation (which is) ready to be revealed in the last time." "The end of all things is at hand; be ye therefore sober, and watch unto prayer." "Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you. . . . For the time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God; and if it first begin at us, what shall the end be of them that obey not the Gospel of God?" And S. James in like manner, in a passage which seems graphically descriptive of the latter days of the Jewish history. "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. . . . Ye have heaped treasure together

for the last days. . . . Ye have condemned and killed the just; and he doth not resist you. Be patient therefore, brethren, unto the coming of the Lord. Behold, the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, and hath long patience for it, until he receive the early and latter rain. Be ye also patient; stablish your hearts: for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh."—Pp. 237—241.

'Before, however, we conclude the examination of the sixth seal, it may be well to advert to the opinion of those interpreters who have explained it as describing the overthrow of Paganism, followed by the establishment of Christianity on the throne of the Roman Empire, the freedom thereby obtained for the Christian worship, and the accession of converts to the new religion. It must be observed, however, as a difficulty in the way of this interpretation, that, even if it were granted that these events would sufficiently correspond with a description of peace and purity which seems to belong rather to apostolic times, and to the days of persecution, when the Christian converts were seen to come "out of the great tribulation," our view is fixed upon the earlier period by that prophecy of our Blessed Lord, which, if it has been rightly applied in the interpretation of His disciple's vision, would specially refer it to the time when, by the destruction of the Jewish polity, and the winding up of the preparatory dispensation, His kingdom came with power. It may at the same time be observed that, in the view of Prophetic Inspiration, which looks upon things not in their mere chronological relations, but as they are essentially connected one with another in the order of the Divine counsels, at that crisis when the Jewish dispensation was drawing to an end, Paganism was, in fact, tottering to its fall; and the kings of the earth, and its rich men, its chief captains and mighty men, might well be described as looking with awe and amazement at the things which were coming on the earth, when a new kingdom was thus brought in, before which all earthly pride and power were destined in due time to fall. And the beginning of this new order of things, as our Lord had Himself declared, in words which solemnly conclude that portion of His Divine prophecy which we have been considering, was to be while some of those who heard Him were yet living on the earth. "Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass until all these things be fulfilled. Heaven and earth shall pass away; but my words shall not pass away."

'In applying, however, to the events of that period imagery like that which we find in the vision before us, it must be constantly borne in mind what it is which constitutes the peculiar propriety of the imagery so employed. We must remember that it is not merely, or mainly, the occurrence of scenes of destruction and slaughter, of suffering and distress, such as mark the last days of Jerusalem's history,—fearful indeed and harrowing as is that tale of misery, as their own historian has told it,—but rather the winding up, in awful judgment, of a dispensation which had been established at the first by solemn sanctions of Heaven, and which was now to give place to another, still more Divine and glorious, a new dispensation to be brought in, amid signs and wonders, by His power who had said, "Yet once more I shake not the earth only, but also heaven." And therefore it is that the coming in of this kingdom, and the preparation made for it, by the sweeping away of that earlier and temporary dispensation which through a long course of ages had witnessed to the greater glory of this which was to follow it, is described in terms inferior only, in dignity and awfulness, to those which are employed to shadow out the final consummation of all things.

'The two scenes, as I have endeavoured to show, are distinct in the visions of the Apocalypse, as they are also in the prophetic discourse of

our Lord. The former we have contemplated, as depicted in the twenty-fourth chapter of the Gospel of S. Matthew, where we read of "the sign of the Son of man" appearing "in heaven," and of "the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory." The latter we find foretold in the following chapter, the twenty-fifth, where the scene is described of that final judgment of the righteous and the wicked which shall then take place, "when the Son of man shall come in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him," and He "shall sit upon the throne of His glory; and before Him shall be gathered all nations: and He shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats;" and the wicked "shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal." And these two periods in the history of the new kingdom are still more clearly exhibited, in their distinctness, where our Lord, on another occasion, passes immediately from the mention of the one to the other. In the sixteenth chapter of the same Gospel, we find Him first warning His followers of the danger of losing the soul, by reminding them of the awful realities of the day of Judgment, and then going on, it would seem, to speak of a nearer manifestation of power, the pledge and foretaste of that which was to come. "For the Son of man shall come in the glory of His Father, with His angels; and then shall He reward every man according to his works. Verily I say unto you, There be some standing here which shall not taste death, till they see the Son of man coming in His kingdom;" or, as it is in S. Luke, "till they see the kingdom of God;" or, in S. Mark, "till they see the kingdom of God come with power." And it came, in very deed, visibly with power, from the time when, amid the wrath which was poured on His enemies, the elder dispensation was brought to its end, and the everlasting kingdom, the "kingdom which cannot be moved," was set up in the midst of the earth—the kingdom of Him whom Daniel "saw in the night visions," and He "came with the clouds of heaven and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him; and there was given Him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve Him: His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed."—Pp. 250—253.

What he wants, however, in vividness of impression the careful reader will find that he compensates by calmness in judgment, carefulness in criticism, and abstinence from arbitrary assumption.

With respect to the vision of the image in Daniel, and that of the four beasts, the Archdeacon's criticism and Dr. Maitland's authorities concur in maintaining the old exposition of the 'five empires,' against the somewhat over-refining objections of Dr. Todd.

'To avoid repetition, the current exposition of the four empires is here amalgamated into a continuous form; and, as most of the paraphrase is the common property of many writers, both Christian and Jewish, the names of authors are omitted, except where any have made the subject peculiarly their own.

'And first, for the repetition of the prophecy, and the different aspects under which the same empires are revealed to king and prophet. The conqueror and the captive, beholding the same objects from opposite points of view, require to be taught different lessons. To the one it must be shown that what seems brightest shall fade: to the other, that what is

most proud and cruel shall yet be subdued. But on this subject the men of old shall show forth wisdom :

“ To the monarch, deluded with the unsubstantial image of the world, and admiring the beauty of things visible, as the colours of a painting spread before him,—to this monarch there is fitly shown, under the figure of a great image, the universal history of man : but the prophet, in a great sea, beholds the great and manifold tossings of human life. Again, to the monarch, admiring that which is precious in the sight of men,—the gold, the silver, the brass, and the iron—there are shown, under the figure of these metals, the empires successively dominant in the history of man: but to the prophet, the same kingdoms appear in the shape of beasts corresponding to their imperial style.

“ Lastly, to the monarch, thinking, as it appears, great things of himself, and proudly boasting his ancestral sway, there is shown a change in the state of things, and the end of earthly rule: and this, to bring down his pride, and to teach him that nothing among men shall stand securely, save only God's final and universal kingdom. . . . These four empires, and these only, were shown to the king as well as to the prophet; I suppose because the Jewish nation was to be enslaved by those only, from the prophet's time downwards.”—*Eusebius*.¹

‘ I. The kingdom of Babylon represented by Nebuchadnezzar its head : Thou art this head of gold ; “that is,” says Theodoret, “thy kingdom.” And this point he argues well: “For after Nebuchadnezzar's decease Evil-Merodach reigned in Babylon, and after him Belshazzar. If, then, we make the individual king to be the head of gold, how shall we take this:—after thee shall arise another kingdom, inferior to thee? for this means, not the kingdom of his sons, but of the Persians. Therefore the head of gold is not Nebuchadnezzar himself, but the entire kingdom of the Assyrians or Babylonians.”’² Eudoxius makes a stand for the verbal sense: “The head represents the Assyrians, especially the Assyrians' noblest king.”

‘ And who so golden, so superb as he who, in the extravagance of oriental splendour, raised a statue of gold ninety feet in height? “Thy greatness,” says Daniel, “reacheth unto heaven, and thy dominion to the end of the earth.” In the second vision the gold is replaced by a royal compound³ of beast and bird:—a lion with eagle's wings. But, while Daniel looks on, a cloud obscures his master's splendour: the eagle's wings are plucked. The monarch is seven years (Septuagint) among the beasts; his fit place, for a beast's heart is given to him.

‘ And as Daniel watches, he beholds once more in vision what he had before witnessed in history, the beast is set upon its feet as a man, and a man's heart is given to it. No longer seeking heaven on wings of pride, he knows himself to be but man,—with barbaric mouth he honours and extols the God of heaven, no longer foolish and ignorant, and as a beast before him.

‘ In this way, during some eighteen centuries, the Church has by conjecture expounded the symbol; but now, so late in history, the key has been brought to light. A British traveller, scouring the Assyrian plains,

¹ ‘This passage, lost for fourteen centuries, has been recovered by Mai. It was quoted from Eusebius by Apollinaris, and from his work copied again into the Greek chain on Daniel.—*Mai's Vet. Script.* tom. i. p. 173.’

² ‘Theodoret in Daniele, in locum.’

³ ‘So Chrysostom: “two royal emblems.” And Polychronius: “the most royal of beasts.” Also Eudoxius: “the most royal of quadrupeds; the swiftest and most royal of birds.”’

lights upon the palaces of heroes and the monuments of kings. Among these is found a colossal sculpture ;—a lion with eagle's wings, and a man's head has been given to it.¹—*Maitland*, pp. 88—90.

' III. Alexander and the Greeks. Says Josephus : " Another will come from the West, sheathed in brass." The sound recalls Homer and his brass-clad heroes. This brazen kingdom was to bear rule over all the earth; and so, in the usual way of speaking, it did. For it is affirmed, upon authority not to be despised in what concerns ordinary modes of speech, even a nursery tale, supported by a *consensus* of babes and sucklings, that Alexander, when he had conquered all the world, sat down and wept. As Hyrcanus words it, " The earth was still before him."

' The third kingdom is also, like the rest, compared to a beast. " He desires," says Chrysostom, " to show something rapid, unrestrained, and destructive; therefore he calls up a pard." The leopard is used in comparisons on account of its swiftness: " Their horses," it is said, " are swifter than leopards." Moreover, to make this leopard swifter, it has four wings: for in twelve years Alexander rose from the government of a province to universal empire. In the next vision, therefore, the king of Grecia comes from the West, not touching the ground. History has something to say of this also.

' A young Roman once shed tears before the statue of Alexander, when he remembered that at an age when he himself had done nothing, the Macedonian had conquered the world. And yet that young Roman is no sluggard in conquest, for it is early manhood with him yet: he will one day write home to the senate that he also came, and saw, and conquered. Alexander's empire has one more mark, the four heads. This is fully explained in the next vision: the first king of Grecia being broken, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation; and in another vision, his kingdom is said to be divided towards the four winds of heaven, and not to his posterity.

' It fell heavily upon the Christian Greeks, when their empire had been vanquished and disarmed, that they seemed to have lost, with their brass, their place in the prophecy; but Greece, conquered in all besides, still boasted, excepting while Cicero was living, supremacy in eloquence. Now eloquence had been compared, by St. Paul, to sounding brass, as the most resonant and clear-toned of metals. The expositors, therefore, deprived of the substantial character of the metal, fell back upon its sound. Titus Bostrensis first gave out that the brass of the third kingdom represents its eloquence. Eudoxius, also a Greek, remarks that the hard iron of the Romans conquered the precious gold, the resplendent silver, and the sonorous brass.²

' IV. The Roman Empire, described as an iron kingdom, and represented by a nameless beast with teeth of iron. This kingdom also was to rule the whole earth: so the Cæsars begin by issuing a decree that all the world shall be taxed. Yet their " whole earth " was limited: they never ruled beyond the Euphrates.

¹ ' Layard's Nineveh, vol. i. pp. 68—70: " I ascertained by the end of March (1845), the existence of a second pair of winged human-headed lions." See at p. 70, first edition, a drawing of the bas relief.

' So complete had been the break up of the oriental world, that even Nisibenus, living on the borders of the Assyrian empire, knew nothing of its earlier customs. Being thus forced to seek an explanation within the prophecy itself, he turned to the parallel passage in chap. ii. Finding that Nebuchadnezzar was there styled ruler of beasts and birds, he thought this a sufficient explanation of the king of beasts and the king of birds, composing the symbol. Sermon 5.

² ' Greek chain on Daniel. Mat, tom. i. in locum.'



'The interpretation of the fourth kingdom gradually passed through a complete history of its own. At first, Josephus confines his exposition to the iron, the clay finding no counterpart in the kingdom of Vespasian. Hippolytus stops short at the teeth of iron, exclaiming, "This we ourselves have seen, and we give God the glory." Thus far the clay had been lying dormant. Eusebius shows himself no wiser about it than his predecessors. Apollinarius, Jerome's master, recognises the iron, but has nothing to say about the clay. His pupil knew better: under the tuition of the Goths, the Church had made rapid progress in mastering that part of the vision. Sulpitius found the incongruous mixture abundantly plain: Theodoret was but too happy to discover that the mixture would remain, and that the iron would not altogether disappear. Eudoxius next proposes to use the condition of the empire as a measure of the times: "The weaker you see the Roman empire, the nearer you may suppose the end." In this state the interpretation still remains.

'Next in order comes the mysterious stone, which Josephus leaves untouched, as if conscious that to him it must prove a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence; but the Christians gladly accept the subject, hailing that stone as the Headstone of the corner. And, for the mystery, "cut out, yet without hands," since Josephus is silent, Victor of Antioch shall speak: "The being born of a virgin was above nature; the union of substance a paradox. It is therefore called a mystery, not as unknown, but as incomprehensible. For the plan of the Cross exceeds all human understanding; how the Sufferer achieved salvation, and how the Dying rose; how the Dishonoured conferred glory, and how the Crucified removed the curse."—Pp. 93—95.

S. Jerome's sad experience, and his application of it to the exposition of prophecy, are also noticed by Archdeacon Harrison. One slight correction has been introduced into his translation of the passage.

'That the ten horns were to be ten kingdoms which were to rise out of the ruins of the Roman empire, was, as we have already seen, the consentient belief of early times. But we may observe still further—and it is an important point in the evidence—St. Jerome, who, as we saw on a former occasion, himself living in the beginning of the fifth century, witnessed the growing weakness of that empire, the mixing of the iron with the clay, in describing, in one of his epistles, the calamities of the times, has enumerated an assemblage of barbarous nations who were then ravaging Gaul, as if he thought he saw them now rising into dominion, and ready to make way for the dreaded power of the little horn. "Innumerable and most savage nations," he says, "have taken possession of the whole of Gaul. The Quadian, the Vandal, the Sarmatian, the Alani, the Gepidae, the Heruli, the Saxons, the Burgundians, the Alemanni, and, oh! our mournful state! the Pannonians"—it will be observed, he has enumerated ten—"have ravaged the whole country between the Alps and the Pyrenees, the Ocean and the Rhine."² In the overthrow which he thus beheld, he

¹ 'This Victor of Antioch, a Greek writer, flourished about 380. Mai, vol. i. p. 177.'

² 'I do not quote this passage as proving that S. Jerome identified these nations with the ten horns of the beast, for three of these horns he undoubtedly supposed to be those mentioned in Dan. xi. 43 (Egypt, the Lybians, and the Ethiopians). I quote it as showing that he watched the fate of the Roman empire in the West, and especially of the city of Rome itself, as the scene on which the Antichristian

recognised the removal, as now to all appearance begun, of that Roman power which had hitherto stood in the way; and he looked, accordingly, for "that wicked one" soon to be revealed in his season. "He which letteth," he had said just before, "is being taken out of the way, and yet we fail to understand that Antichrist is approaching."—*Harrison*, pp. 77, 78.

On the question of 'the year-day system' they are at variance; the Archdeacon inclining to accept it, Dr. Maitland rejecting it wholly, as novel and untenable. Either of them is far more likely to be right than Dr. Wordsworth.

'To proceed to facts.

'Three years and a half, or forty-two months, or 1260 days, are, as we have seen, the time of the pilgrimage of the Woman in the Wilderness, that is, of the Church in her trials.¹ This number² *forty-two* connects her with the history of the Israelitish Church in the Wilderness. Its haltings are enumerated in the Book of Numbers,³ and they are forty-two. "And all these things" (says S. Paul) "happened to them as types of us."⁴ They foreshadow the history of the Christian Church in her pilgrimage through the wilderness of this world to the promised land of heaven.

'Again: "I tell you of a truth, says our Blessed Lord, many widows were in Israel in the days of Elias, when the heaven was shut up three years and six months, when great famine was throughout all the land."⁵ And S. James says, "Elias prayed it might not rain; and it rained not on the earth by the space of three years and six months."⁶

'It also pleased God to strengthen the type, if we may so speak, by assigning precisely the same duration of *three years and a half* to the great persecution of the Church of Israel by Antiochus Epiphanes, the figure of Antichrist.

'S. John's precursor,⁷ Daniel, had named that period as the duration of that persecution. He had also identified it with the future time of the trials of the *Christian Church*, which are more fully described by St. John.⁸

'Thus the very mention of *three years and a half* to the ear of an Israelite had an ominous sound. It was the chronological symbol of suffering.

'And to us Christians there is another reason why it should be identified with a time of trial, if, as some ancient writers⁹ assure us, and there is good reason to believe,¹⁰ this period of three years and a half¹¹ was the duration of the earthly ministry of Him, the great PROPHET, the Divine WITNESS of the truth, "Who was a man of sorrows and acquainted with

power was in due time to be revealed. The date assigned to this epistle is A.D. 409.'

¹ 'Primasius ad loc. Numerus XLII Mansionum Christianitatis omne tempus designat.'

² 'By Haymo in Apoc. lib. ii. iv. and Aquinas, p. 323.'

³ 'Num. xxxiii. 1—50.' ⁴ '1 Cor. x. 6—11.' ⁵ 'Luke iv. 25.' ⁶ 'James v. 17.'

⁷ 'See Josephus, B. J. i. c. 1. Lowth on Dan. xii. 7. Usher's Annals, pt. ii. Prideaux, Connexion, ad A.D. 168, 165.'

⁸ 'See Lowth on Dan. vii. 25.'

⁹ 'Eus eb. i. 10. Theodoret, ii. p. 1250, ed. Hal. Cf. Melito ap. Routh. R. S. i. 136.'

¹⁰ 'See Hengstenberg's Christology on Dan. ix. 27.'

¹¹ 'Some of the Fathers also supposed that this was the duration of the "flight in Egypt" of the Virgin Mother and her Divine Child. See Catena Cramer, p. 358, 366.'

grief;¹ and who, as Daniel prophesied, caused the sacrifice of the temple to cease in the midst of a week by his own oblation on the cross.²

¹ Hence this period of three years and a half, forty-two months, or 1260 days, is employed in the Apocalypse as a typical exponent of an idea; just as the numbers twelve and twelve times twelve do not represent a precise sum, but a well defined principle.³—*Wordsworth*, pp. 266—269.

His authorities have been given, to relieve him of the responsibility at least of inventing such an interpretation.⁴ Prophecy, however obscure, is not so definite as here in expression when it is indefinite in meaning. Indeed it is scarcely consistent with our respect for the sacred character and authority of its documents so to take it. Even although we might bear with an indefinite millenium, it were certainly a strange and violent exposition to make a period repeatedly announced, not in a round number, but in several different forms, with all the circumstances of exactness, significant merely through the historical instances of that period's occurrence, and not in the way of actual duration. Nor is there any sufficient reason for this vagueness, or any difficulty whatever in supposing the literal fulfilment. In the year-day system there is certainly a difficulty, and one which may possibly have inclined an expositor to prefer an indefinite interpretation. For if the papal power holds the place in prophecy which Dr. Wordsworth would assign to it, the period of its rise is so little defined, that it is by no means easy to suppose it *can* be bounded by a limit so exact. There may, however, be more reason for its being assigned if, as some authors mentioned by Archdeacon Harrison, and appa-

¹ 'Isa. liii. 3.'

² 'Dan. ix. 27. Lightfoot Harm. N. T. ad cap. xi. "The forty-two months," "1260 days," and a "time, times, and a half time," are but borrowed phrases from Daniel, who so expresses the three and a half years of Antiochus' persecution (Dan. xii. 7); and they mean times of trouble, and are used to express that, and *not any fixed time*. The Jews have learned to make the same construction of it: and this also, that comfort might stand up against mercy, was the time of our Saviour's ministry. Christ preached three and a half years in trouble. So the Two Witnesses in sackcloth. He having finished his ministry was slain; so they. He revived and ascended; so they likewise. Their case is parallel with Christ's, their Master's. See also Vitringa, pp. 449, 463. 1 Macc. xiii. 50, 51.'

³ 'Haymo in loc. Dies 1260.] In hoc tempore Ecclesiâ in solitudine a curis temporalium rerum quiescente, pascunt eam Doctores exemplo et doctrinâ per Epistolas, Evangelium et expositiones librorum pabulo divini sermonis. Sicut Antichristus 1260 diebus regnabat, ita et Christus 1260 diebus, i.e. tribus annis et dimidio prædicavit, ideoque totum præsens tempus possumus accipere per hoc numerum a quo divina prædicatio cepit. Desertum populi ex Ægypto egressi significabat hanc vitam, in quâ pascimur vero Manna, id est, corpore Christi; adsumt quoque igniti serpentes, &c. See also Aquinas.'

⁴ The Clavis of S. Melito, Bishop of Sardis in the second century, also mentions the connexion of the number 42 with the stations of the wilderness. This is not his Commentary on the Apocalypse, but a kind of Dictionary of Scripture Symbols. It has never yet been published, but will appear in the 'Spicilegium Solesmense,' a collection of Inedita shortly to be published by Dom Pitra, a Benedictine of the Abbey of Solesmes, near Angers.

rently without disapprobation, suppose, there is also a literal fulfilment to be expected, in the reign of antichrist for three and a half years, symbolically connected with 1260 years of the Church's trial under another and an openly hostile power.

In identifying Rome with Babylon, all these writers are agreed, and with them a goodly array of ancient authorities,¹ and a chain reaching down even to modern Roman Catholics and Jesuits. It is not only the Franciscan school of reformers in the latter Middle Ages, but men who would not be disposed to admit anything unfavourable to the eternal city that was not forced upon them by irresistible conviction, that fix this prophetic seat of corruption on the seven hills. Prophecy itself is indeed so clear on this point that the conclusion cannot be escaped without some disparagement to its perfection. And even the advocate of Rome is in a better position if he admits than if he obstinately fights against this manifest truth. Let Rome now be what she will, (with fear and trembling, and in the grief of earnest charity be it spoken), she is doomed to a fall that shall astonish the world. Whether the Church of Rome, as now understood, which is indeed almost independent of the locality, although hitherto so closely linked to it, is to share or escape the doom of the devoted city, there it is that the pride and pomp of this world shall meet a signal overthrow, and the spirit of old Babylon shall be quelled and broken. The circumstances which seem to be foretold as attending this overthrow are strange and significant, and have attracted the attention of ancient as well as of some modern expositors. The dream which united in the one abstraction of popery all the monstrous forms of prophetic abomination, and made the present Roman hierarchy at once Babylon and Antichrist, could not do otherwise than vanish at the first breath of fresh and wakeful air. But its disappearance leaves the field of thought at once clearer in prospect, and beset with strange and lowering terrors, which though vague in form show fearful signs of reality. Rome is there still, and a spirit of pride and worldliness, of unholy traffic and abominable deception is its tenant. But the Antichrist, though seated on a throne exalted one step above the present chair of S. Peter, and more like the ideal pontiff of 'Young Italy' than any other conception as yet historically imagined, is without her walls. He is, according to a multitude of expositors, and no slight indications in prophecy itself, her destroyer; himself, after a short reign, to fall in direct contest with the true Messiah.

¹ S. Melito has, among the names of places in his 'Clavis,' 'Babylon—Mundus aut Roma in Apocalypsi.'

'The new school of interpreters had gone on to say that Rome was the seat of the Beast; and here Bellarmine once more falls back upon the Apocalypse. Chytræus, he complains, takes no notice of the words, "Where also their Lord was crucified." Moreover Antichrist is to destroy Rome, not to reign in it. "The ten kings who will share among them the Roman empire, and in whose reign Antichrist will come,—these will hate the purple-bearing harlot, that is, Rome, and will make her desolate, and burn her with fire. How, therefore, can she be the seat of Antichrist, if at that very time she is to be overthrown and burnt?"

'Bellarmine allows that Rome is meant by Babylon: but Rome future, not Rome present. This future falling away of Rome seems to be incompatible with the infallibility of the Roman see: but Bellarmine judges otherwise; "It matters not," he argues, "that in the time of Antichrist Rome seems to be destined to be wasted and burnt, as appears from Apoc. xvii.: for this will not happen till the end of the world; and moreover at that time the Pope will be styled, and will in truth be, Pope of Rome, although not living in Rome: for so it happened in the time of Totila, king of the Goths." The case of Bellarmine makes it probable that even in the hour of Babylon's destruction by Antichrist, there will be Papists so infatuated as to be planning how to retain the title of Roman; that, deaf to the voice which cries "Come out of her," they will be fondly looking back to the accursed city. If such there be, will they, like Lot's wife, suffer a separate ruin? or will they be permitted to escape to those that cast dust upon their heads, and cry, "Alas, alas, that great city?"

'A. D. 1592.

'The suggestion of the anonymous homilist was next carried out by Ribera. The power and learning of the Jesuits enabled them to hold out the menace to Rome, that she would one day fall away from the faith, and, despite her boast of perpetual purity, become the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth.

'On ground so dangerous Ribera treads lightly: he seems to fear even the sound of his own footsteps. "It may be," he suggests, "that some Christians not conspicuous for holiness may at some time be suffered to live in Rome." The state of corruption prevailing in Rome early in the sixteenth century helps to bring this supposition within the range of possibility. But Ribera will allow nothing to the discredit of Rome in her present papal character:—

"Babylon whose fall is here predicted, Babylon the empurpled harlot, Babylon the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth, she that has made all nations to drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, this is indeed Rome; but not Rome Christian, not Rome obedient to the Pope, not Rome retaining and preserving within herself the see of the apostle Peter; for this is not the mother either of abominations or of filthiness, but the mother of piety, the pillar of the Catholic faith, the mistress of sanctity. On the contrary, it is Rome the author and preserver of superstitions, the head of idolatry, the sink of all iniquity, the most bitter enemy of the Christian name, the murderer and slaughterer of the saints, such as she once was under heathen emperors, and such as she will be in the end of the world, after she has fallen away from the Pope." (Num. 39.)

'Ribera lays it down that when Rome again becomes Babylon, "there will be in her the greatest idolatry." As the fathers of Trent have sanctioned the decrees of the second Nicene council, it is difficult to imagine more gross idolatry than that which the Church of Rome now supports. With better effect he replies to those who would make Rome in the end of the world, to suffer merely for the sins of Rome ancient and Pagan:—

"Great Babylon came into remembrance. Because Babylon's old sins

are to be visited upon her together with the new, our Apostle speaks as of a thing done long ago,—Great Babylon came into remembrance before God, to give her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of His wrath. She came into remembrance, because her old sins had been already consigned to oblivion on account of the faith which she had embraced; but when fresh and similar offences are added, the former also come into the memory of God:—For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.

“Now Jerusalem would not have been laid waste by the Romans on account of her old sins, unless she had afterwards heaped upon them new and very heavy offences, not knowing the time of her visitation, as the Lord said, but killing Him through whom she was to be saved. And so Rome, after the worship of so many idols, after incredible superstitions, and after shedding the blood of so many martyrs, might yet remain till the end of the world, having become the seat of Christ’s vicar, were it not that she will equal her former impiety with new sins and horrible wickedness.

“Therefore not for her former sins alone will she burn with so great a burning, as was said before, but also on account of those which she will commit in the last times; and this we learn so distinctly from the words of the Apocalypse, that the greatest fool cannot deny it.”—*Maitland*, pp. 376—379.

This view has the advantage of placing the whole question in a state in which it can be investigated, without assuming anything that at once shocks our moral apprehension. To identify the whole communion centred in Rome through the Middle Ages with the very powers antagonist to God, is simply impossible to one who knows the lives of those holy men who succeeded one another in unbroken lines through the darkest periods, and the manner in which the hierarchy, with all its faults, co-operated with their designs for the glory of God and the good of man. But as ‘that woman Jezebel’ was not the Church of Thyatira, and yet that Church might be rebuked and might suffer for her presence, so may the harlot Babylon be severed in her life and being, and in her sin and punishment, from the true and spiritual Church of her very seat of empire. What can be said to identify her with the very *Church* of Rome, may be found in Dr. Wordsworth, Lecture XII.

It is difficult to read S. Paul without a deep impression that a future apostasy of Rome, from the very faith itself, is indicated, or the 24th of S. Matthew without a similar thought respecting the first see of Christendom. The idea is a strong and haunting one, and links itself to an unbroken analogy of the past, an analogy not seldom hinted at in the warnings of the New Testament. Yet all this may refer, and some of it must refer, to facts as yet future, and to a condition of the Christian world that we have not yet seen. Whether it has any bearing upon the past history or present state of the Church of Rome, is a matter left open for inquiry. Yet so palpable is the resemblance, so pointed, to all appearance, the prophetic allusion to many particulars in the mediæval condition and history of the

Roman hierarchy, that it is difficult, even with the wish, to maintain a doubt of the fact, that its Babylonish pride, luxury, and corruption, were foreseen and intended in the predictions of S. John. The place, the influence over the Roman world, the very apparel and costume, (see Maitland, p. 367,) are added to the acknowledged notes of wickedness and venality, and seem unquestionably to single out the society as well as the spot in which their fulfilment is to be witnessed. And if facts on the one hand compel us to acknowledge that many of the elect have been, and yet are, to the best of human judgment, in the Roman communion; if we feel sure that the faith, with whatever additions, there remains entire, and has been kept with fidelity; if we know that vast exertions have been made and are making for the spread and maintenance of truth and holiness; and if we therefore have strong and apparently conclusive reasons for not applying to the Roman Church in herself the accursed name of Babylon; we cannot yet resist the inference on the other side, that she has suffered the evil spirit of Babylon to win a hold upon her, and so to move and wield for a time her outward actions, that we must view with caution everything that is presented to us as coming from a source so nearly allied to the 'mother of abominations and harlotries.'

Could we only place ourselves fairly in the position of persons living in the palmy days of pontifical domination, when the scandals of a most venal and profligate Court were fresh in all mouths, how much more telling would be the impression of their enormity than in the stereotyped pages of history! Truly it is no wonder that men forsook not Rome only, but the Church and the faith of Christ. And if some of our writers have magnified abuses and acts of presumption, and have even turned what is in itself right and reasonable into a ground for mistaken charges, this must not deter us from realizing the fact, that in the very predicted spot there arose a system stigmatized and rebuked by those holy men who obeyed the power with which it was connected,¹ indisputably corrupt and corrupting, tempting the rulers of the world to barter gain for the sanction or toleration of wickedness, fruitful of lying superstitions, veiling the most atrocious vices under the mantle of sacred office, and even under the cowl of holy austerity. 'By their works ye shall know them' is not a test to be hastily applied; but when wickedness descends from generation to generation, multiplying as it goes, men cannot but apply it;

¹ See S. Bernard, *De Consideratione*, and IV. ii. 4, 'Whom can you show me in the whole of that vast city who has received you for Pope without the inducement of gain (pretio), of the hope of gain?' See also book iii. chap. iii.—v. and many other passages.

and if the communion of Rome is redeemed from its fatal application by her Borromeos and her Neris, still her hierarchy remains responsible not merely for the occasional interference in its line of succession, but for the long prevailing domination of unholy pride and venal craftiness. Many pastors have been worldly and ungodly men, but it would be hard to name those who have so astounded the world by their wickedness and malversation in their sacred office as did for some time the supreme Pontiffs of Rome. Let not this fact have *more* than its due weight. There is no reasonable doubt but that even gross and open wickedness is consistent with the possession of a Divine authority to rule and teach. The fact of such authority and commission may be so clear as to supersede any farther test, and leave only subordinate questions to be decided by the character of individuals. But the Papal power is one of those mixed developments of human and divine institutions, whose place must be adjudged by their character. Its credentials from Holy Scripture and Christian antiquity are not of that unquestionable kind that forbids criticism. The single hint (if such it be) of the permanency of S. Peter's primacy is linked to a no less significant indication of its fall, and the renunciations of S. Gregory cover no small portion of the assumptions of the modern popedom. Its maintainers cannot dispense with arguments from general necessity and from history; and if they resort to these, they have difficult facts to deal with. They cannot show why their hierarchy may not, like the Jewish, have maintained the faith, but added to it human traditions and corrupt practices. They cannot honestly deny that if Babylon be the spirit of worldliness, she has already had her seat in the Roman court.

There are points, however, in the history of the Apocalyptic Babylon which involve some difficulty; for instance, her relation to the beast on which she sits, coupled with the circumstances of her overthrow; for it is by the ten kings, in league with Antichrist, that the city of Babylon is finally destroyed and burnt. Some have imagined her the 'Church carnal,' mistaken by Antichrist and his followers for the true Church of God, and destroyed by them as though they would destroy Christianity. But perhaps it is more likely that some new and portentous combination of error and wickedness is yet in store; for if we read S. Paul aright,¹ the fall of Rome is a fall from Christian faith, and her haughty mind is but its prelude. But however the periods may be calculated, the fall of Babylon appears too late to be identified (as in some Roman writers)

¹ Rom. xi. 18—22.

with the overthrow of ancient Rome by the Barbarians. Whether we incline to the more consecutive plan of Archdeacon Harrison, or to the principle of 'Recapitulation from the sixth,' which is asserted by several writers, and that with strong appearances of probability, this event is one of the nearest to the final conflict between the revealed majesty of our Lord and his assembled enemies. The Beast on which she appears seated must, it seems, be concerned in her destruction, being so closely allied to the former Beast, with seven heads and ten horns. This last is regarded by all but a very few as representing the Roman Empire. And it may be observed, that at first the Dragon gives it power, and is therefore worshipped. This may, perhaps, be taken to signify the connexion of the Roman power with the worship of devils, so clearly brought out by S. Augustine in his work on the City of God, which indeed was written to prove that its fall was not the consequence of the offence given to heathen deities by the establishment of Christianity. Rome was supposed to derive her greatness from Jupiter, and Jupiter to manifest his own supreme majesty in Rome. In the many thousand divinities of her Pantheon, the Dragon had a very surfeit of human worship. The revival of the Imperial power by the Papal, which made the empire of Charlemagne and his successors a visible 'image' of that of the Cæsars, is supposed by Archdeacon Harrison to be intended in the office assigned to the second Beast, as exercising the power of the first Beast before him, and 'making the inhabitants of the earth worship the Beast whose deadly wound was healed.' Yet the attributes of the Beast seem so monstrous, and its history so awful, as to incline one rather to look for it in the shape of some future infidel apparition, connected with the short reign of the 'ten kings,' that receive dominion 'one hour' with the Beast.

Dr. Wordsworth, however, has found the number and mark of the Beast, as he supposes, distinctly, and reads in the cross keys, arranged as in a common device of the Pontifical coinage, the number $X\Xi\Sigma T$, which is equivalent to the number of Antichrist, as commonly printed in our Greek Testaments, $\chi\xi\tau$. This is at least ingenious. Yet after all that has been lately insisted on of the apparent unity of this Beast with the very Antichrist, and the evident infidel character of that personage, one is inclined to hope that if this be the true reading, the badge will be perpetuated or resumed for the use of a Pope or Antipope, who, if he cannot exceed some of his predecessors in profligacy, does so at least in open blasphemy. The attempt to fix on Papal Rome, as it is, every denunciation and warning of prophecy, proves too much.

Indeed 'proving too much' is a common fault with Dr. Wordsworth. He proves too much about the Bible, (though his application of the seven Thunders to the canon of the New Testament sealed by S. John is not to be lightly rejected¹); too much about the Pope; too much about the Millennium, and too much about the indefiniteness of the Apocalyptic periods and symbols. He seems to place us at once in the Millennial state, in the conflict of Armageddon, and in the 1260 days. The four Angels bound by the river Euphrates are most unaccountably turned into Evangelists, the river Euphrates as the river of Babylon (not quite so extravagantly), becomes European. There is no need of cautioning the reader against following him throughout; if he is a real student of the Apocalypse, he will hardly be able to do so. At least, it is scarcely probable that any number of minds should be found so fitted to one another in their idiosyncrasies as to go through so many interpretations, several of them by no means probable, with an equal concurrence in all. His good practical inferences, and his controversial vigour exerted in a popular direction, may carry the more cursory reader smoothly through.

He is most in his element, perhaps, in discoursing on the genuineness and inspiration of the Apocalypse, and accordingly in his third lecture he acquits himself well. The second also, with much that is questionable, contains passages of an elevated character, and powerful statements of what is true in itself, whether rightly applied by him or not. When he would prove that the Millennial state is what we have already experienced, he writes admirably on the Christian state and its privileges.

'This is the first Resurrection.

'Behold its glorious privileges. How great is the happiness of those who are indeed "crucified to the world, and are risen with Christ, and who walk with Him in newness of life!" Such is their intimate union with Christ, that Almighty God deigns to say that they are partakers of His blessedness and exaltation. They are joint heirs with Him. Wherever the head is, there is the body also. "Of His fulness they have all received." As the Apostle says, "When we were dead in sins, God hath quickened us together with Christ, and hath raised us up together, and hath made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus." "They," says S. Paul, "which receive abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ." "To him," says Christ, "that overcometh, will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in His throne." And the true children of the Church on earth "are caught up to God and His throne." Hence to them who die in the Lord there is no death; they have passed from death unto life; their life is "hid with Christ in God." The saints who are dead do not cease to be members of Christ. No: "Christ," (says S. Paul) "died, to be Lord both of the dead and living." They do not taste of death. "Death hath

¹ S. Melito. 'Tonitrua—Evangelii voces.'

no dominion over them." How blessed a thing it is to reflect that our fathers and brethren, who have fallen asleep in Christ, and have departed in God's holy faith and fear, are *not* dead; that "they rest from their labours," and "their works do follow them." They are with the saints of old,—with martyrs, evangelists, apostles, prophets, and patriarchs; they are with Christ, "and they have come unto mount Sion, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the Church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant." These all live in Christ; and by virtue of *His* judicial and sacerdotal and royal power, they too, as members of Christ, and as dwelling in Him and He in them, are—in a certain, ineffable sense, not as yet to be grasped by our weak intellects—"a chosen generation, a royal Priesthood; they are made unto God kings and priests."

"I saw thrones, and they sate upon them, and judgment was given them." Our blessed Lord expressly says, that the judgment of Satan was already begun at His own incarnation. "Now is the judgment of this world." "Now is the Prince of this world judged," And now, even now the Saints of Christ judge the world; yea, according to S. Paul's words "they judge angels," the angels of Satan. The saints of God *prove*, by *their* faith and holiness and steadfastness, that the fall of Satan and of his angels was due to their own sin: they show, by their virtues, that God is good, and that His grace is sufficient for all those who pray to Him, trust in Him, and obey Him; and that "it is made perfect in their weakness, and that His commandments are not grievous; and having been tortured, tempted, afflicted, tormented, and having resisted even unto blood, and having come forth more than conquerors," they judge the world. They condemn it of blind infatuation, and of base ingratitude to God. The life and death of the saints is the judgment of the world.

Again; in another sense, the Church of Christ now judges the world. She has received from Christ the power of *the keys*; the power of *binding and loosing*; and whatever she does on earth, orderly and rightly, in the ministry of remitting or retaining sins, is ratified by CHRIST in heaven. Thus, *even now*, the Saints of God sit upon *thrones*, and "to them judgment is given."

Yet more; in another manner the saints of God are even now seated upon thrones, and judge the world.

In the precepts of the law, in the revelations of prophets, in the melody of Psalms, in the instruction of Proverbs, in the Old Testament, the twenty-four books of which were believed to be represented by the twenty-four elders sitting enthroned in heaven; and in the four Gospels typified by the four living cherubim on which the throne of God is set; and in the "Royal Law" of the letters of the apostles, whom God has "made princes in all lands;"—which books, be it remembered, have been placed on thrones in the great council-halls of Christendom, and have been delivered as a law to anointed kings at their solemn enthronization; yes, taken from that very altar, and placed in the hands of the most august monarchs of the world, in this national temple, at their coronation; and whose sanctity is proclaimed by solemn adjurations in courts of justice; and which are delivered to bishops and priests at their ordination, as the royal code of their teaching, and the Divine charter of their ministry; and which sound forth daily from pulpits and the steps of Altars—as it were, from Christian thrones and tribunals—in every part of the world: thus, I say, they whom God has employed to declare His will to men, are now, even now, seen by the eye of faith "sitting upon thrones; and to them judgment is given."

In this manner, we see that the souls of the saints, by virtue of their spiritual incorporation and indwelling in Christ, have risen from the dead

with Christ; that in Christ they live; that they ascend with Him, and sit with Him in heavenly places; that they are priests of God and Christ; that they reign together with Him; and that with Him they judge the world. Therefore,—“Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection.”—*Wordsworth*, pp. 58—63.

But all things have their place, and we may very well receive all that he has here advanced, without believing that it is exactly what was intended in the prediction.

His edition of the Apocalypse is certainly a real contribution to our Biblical literature, and a help toward the critical study of that Holy Book. He has made some advances upon the collations of Scholz, and has given the text separately from the three oldest MSS., to which he attaches somewhat more authority than earlier critics have done. This text is very much nearer to that of Scholz than to that formerly received, which was grounded on less adequate materials than that of the rest of the New Testament. In a few places the sense varies considerably from our version, and either that of Scholz, or that of the three MSS., the Alexandrine, the Vatican, and the Palimpsest of Ephraim Syrus, is certainly more clear and beautiful in language than that of our old Greek Testaments. It is not to be understood that these MSS. agree absolutely with each other. They have their variations, like any other independent copies, but still agree in many readings in opposition to such as are more recent. The volume affords an interesting specimen to the reader who is commencing Biblical criticism, but it cannot be called indispensable to the student of the Apocalypse considered as a prophetic book. It contains, however, some interesting extracts from former commentaries, in an appendix. That of John Olivi, a Franciscan, and that of Andrewes in answer to Bellarmine, are among the chief of these; there is also a notice of that of Bossuet, which must be admitted to go lame in some important particulars. Dr. Wordsworth's own ‘Harmony of the Apocalypse,’ which is placed immediately after the text, is a valuable help, but one which, perhaps, the student would do better to construct for himself than to receive at second hand.

And now, perhaps, a reader may be inclined to ask what he has learned, and to be ill-content that he cannot be supplied with a clear account and solution of all these mysteries. The fact is, that it is better to leave him where he is than to delude him with plausible uncertainties. And if a few suggestions have been thrown out that may possibly lead to a careful and right judgment in the more evident and settled particulars, it is as much as can be fairly expected. The prophetic symbols are not, indeed, arbitrary, they have certain objects generally cor-

responding to them; yet there is enough of ambiguity to render interpretation uncertain until events supply the needful key; and a very large portion of the Apocalypse seems so closely connected with the final apostasy and the accompanying time of trouble, that it is but reasonable to expect that it will remain in obscurity until that time draws near. If, with Dr. Maitland, we take the '1260 days,' the 'time, times, and a half,' the 'forty and two months' to be everywhere literal, it will follow that we must understand the flight of the sun-clothed woman into the wilderness, of something yet future. Such an assumption will of course draw with it other portions of the prophecy. Again, if we take the flight into the wilderness for departure from the Jewish polity and nation, the period of nurture in the wilderness becomes indefinite. If we take it of retirement from the secular life, it becomes very difficult to fix limits to the period during which it can be said (if ever it can be said: for surely God has had His people, among the simple poor at least, in secular life,) that piety dwelt only in monasteries and hermitages. And yet it goes against all sense and reason to take a period so often named with precision for an indefinite one. And though heathen persecution or barbarian invasion may supply a somewhat plausible exponent of the flood cast forth by the dragon, still there is no difficulty in supposing a fulfilment so much more definite and complete in all its parts, as to cast anything that has hitherto passed into the shade. Rather, is not the course of human society taking such a turn, and passing through such phases, as may seem to indicate that the Church certainly must and will be driven out of the pale of civil existence, and that she will be found so 'clean contrary' to the men of the world that they will see no possible resource but in her destruction, or at least her elimination from social life?

Nor is there any difficulty in supposing that a very large portion of her history is omitted, or but cursorily noticed in the pages of prophecy. So it was in the old times, though not in the same degree. The succession of prophets did indeed foretell changes as they approached, because God's people were then under a temporal government, the acts of which required to be explained from above. But were it otherwise, the Church of the New Testament has never suffered such an eclipse as the ancient people underwent in the days of Antiochus; and though she has suffered trials in particular places and countries which might well have place in prophecy, yet we can scarcely say that they were greater than might well be borne by those who had a general anticipation of 'great tribulation.' We may therefore very well conceive that after an introductory view of the rise and establishment of the Church in the succession of riders

that go forth on the opening of the seals, the vision may pass on to the events that belong to the end, and may be occupied with them even to the exclusion of very important intervening occurrences and changes. And Dr. Maitland is bold enough to set down 'the historical school' in a mass as followers of a delusive imagination. Certainly their variations, which may be seen in Mr. Elliott's appendix, are more than a match for those of Protestantism.

It would, perhaps, be unfair to Archdeacon Harrison to omit a passage in which he gives a lively picture of what he thinks may be a historical fulfilment bearing on mediæval and modern times.

'But another form of craft and power was revealed in the vision, co-operating with the former, and ministering to it. "I beheld," says S. John, "another wild beast coming up out of the earth,"—or more properly "the land," as distinguished from "the sea,"—"and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon. And he exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him,"—that is, before his eyes, and in his presence, as his servant and minister,—"and causeth the earth and them that dwell therein to worship the first beast whose deadly wound was healed." This second power was to arise out of the "land;" which, in contradistinction from the "sea," we have already had occasion to observe, seems to denote the original heritage of the people and Church of God, as distinguished from the Gentile nations—the East as distinguished from the West. And this point in the description may be designed, perhaps, to mark the growth of error in Eastern Christendom, which became subsidiary and ministrative to that complex form of secular and spiritual dominion combined, which arose out of the violence and commotions of Western Europe. The power here represented as the beast out of the land, is elsewhere designated as "the false prophet;" his character as an Antichrist being marked by the "two horns like a lamb," while yet "he spake as a dragon." And he is described as working the signs of a false prophet. "He doeth great wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men, and deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by the means of those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast; saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast, which had the wound by the sword and did live."

'We can hardly fail to identify the power here described, or that to which it ministered, with S. Paul's delineation, in his Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, of him "whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved; for which cause God" would "send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie." The manifestation of that wicked one foretold by the Apostle was to be hindered for a time by a certain withholding power; obscurely referred to, but known, as it would seem, by those to whom he wrote, and which was generally supposed in early times, as I have before had occasion to observe, to be the then existing Empire of Rome. It was, moreover, the general belief in the primitive ages, "that before the appearance of Antichrist the Roman Empire was to be dissolved, and broken up into ten different parts; yet by his contrivance was to be reunited, and restored to its pristine integrity under him." And looking to the actual history, when we find that, after

such division of the Roman Empire by Barbarian nations, that empire, or its image at least, was in a strange manner restored, or revived, by the immediate agency of a power bearing on it such marks as those which distinguish the papal see, there is, I think, no interpretation so probable of a difficult point in the vision before us, as that which would recognise at least its precursive and partial fulfilment, in an event so important in its influence on the fortunes of modern Europe, and occupying accordingly so prominent a place in the view of secular history. "The conferring of the imperial crown on Charlemagne," the Romanist writer before quoted will tell us, "was that which deserved to be ranked as the characteristic event, not only of the royal visit" of the king of the Franks to Rome, in the year 800, but "of the age itself." "Up to that instant nothing but chaos," he says, "had prevailed among the tribes that had overturned pagan Rome and its empire." "Europe, or rather its embryo, was struggling, nevertheless, and travelling, though with abortive efforts, to emerge from this state. . . . The fragments of those mighty structures,—aqueducts, towns, bridges, highways, the ruins of marble cities, villas, and temples,—amongst which they pastured their flocks and herds, disposed their ambuscades in war, or pursued the pleasures of the chase, all these memorials were haunted, even for them, with certain vague imaginings, perhaps of admiration and wonder, concerning the order of things to which they had belonged. The same might be said of the relics of Roman society, and of its shattered institutions. The very name of the empire, the recollections of this grand and glorious society, agitated the memories of men. . . . Even the conquerors themselves were attached to similar reminiscences by their most darling passions. *The image of its greatness*," the same writer continues, "was often brought before their excited imaginations, while they listened to the bards, who were wont to celebrate, amidst the carousal, the achievements and the prowess of their sires, who had figured in its wars, in its triumphs, but, above all, in its destruction. The consequence was inevitable. By thus frequently contemplating the *image* of this august order of things,"—I am still continuing the quotation,—"*their understandings, rude as they were, could not fail to be struck with the glaring defects and inferiority of their own condition. They became sensible that, belonging to the empire among the ruins of which they found themselves, there was a something which they had need to imitate, to reproduce. Hence the effect of that stroke of policy which revived the Empire of the West. On the barbarian world its effect was magical. Those dull instincts and imaginings, so abortive hitherto, and so wide of any definite aim, became, on the instant, so many powerful and concordant rudiments of stability. The idea, the project, that had been harassing the breasts of all, like a nightmare vision, but which no one had power to realize, was recognised and hailed by all with acclamations, the moment it was presented to them, in the person of their mighty hero, 'crowned of God, the great and pacific emperor of the Romans.'*"

"From that hour," says the same writer, "the barbarian tribes acquired a new relation,—one that attached them all, simultaneously to a grand idea of general and permanent association. This," he observes, "was the beginning of modern Europe;" and "such were the advantages which the Providence, that had already turned to so much account whatever belonged to the pagan empire of Rome, knew how to derive from its very name, and the *shadow of its former greatness*." Doubtless, indeed, every tongue of man must own that the whole course of events in the world's history, in its relation to the Church of God, has been overruled and ordered, in a marvellous manner, throughout, by his Allwise and Almighty Providence, and most signally in the present instance; but the visions of

prophecy, which so wonderfully teach this lesson, have at the same time assigned to the different agencies which have been the unconscious instruments of that Divine Providence, a place in the great drama, and stamped upon them a character, far different, oftentimes, from that which human discernment might have given them; and have exhibited, behind the veil of earthly things, principles and agents of the world unseen. And, be it recollected, it was the question of the worship of images in the Christian Church, as is observed by the historian of Rome's Decline and Fall, that "produced the revolt of Italy, the temporal power of the Popes, and the restoration of the Roman Empire in the West."

'The relations between the spiritual and temporal powers, bound together as they were so strangely, and interwoven so closely, in the system of papal Europe, may perhaps be traced in the further description of the agency revealed in the vision. "And he had power to give life"—or more literally "breath—to the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed. And he caused all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads: and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name." The persecuting character of the Church of Rome is, unhappily, too notorious to need pointing out: and, though she wielded not the sword with her own hand, nor gave directly from herself the command for the execution of her sentence; yet would she give her victims over to the secular power, and make kings and princes inflict the punishment which she pronounced on the guilty. And among the instances of the infliction, by temporal sovereigns, of penalties of the very kind specified in the prophecy, reference has been made by expositors to that which is recorded of the Norman Conqueror, "that he would not permit any one under his power to *buy or sell* any thing, whom he found disobedient to the apostolic see." But in regard to this whole portion of the prophecy, and especially the image of the wild beast, its compulsory worship, its mark, and name, and number, there is a difficulty and a mystery, the existence of which is sufficiently proved by the diversity of interpretations proposed by expositors; and which would lead us to the conclusion that it is reserved for the still unrevealed future, in the destinies, perhaps, of modern Europe, perhaps of the East, as well as the West, to remove the obscurity which envelopes the vision.

'And with regard particularly to the mystic number,—declared to be a mystery by the inspired Authority which hath propounded it for the thoughtful consideration of "him that hath understanding,"—amidst the variety of conjectures which have been offered, (some regarding it as a chronological date, others, and those the greater number, as composing a word, or title,) I know nothing better than to repeat the cautions of Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, the disciple of S. John, reproving those who hastily endeavoured to interpret it, and saying that it is safer to await the event of the prophecy, than to attempt to conjecture and divine the import of the name. I may add, however, that if a preference is to be given to any one interpretation, rather than another, especially of those which have sanction from antiquity, the strongest claim, perhaps, may be asserted in behalf of one of those which Irenæus has enumerated, and which (though himself, it would seem, inclining rather to a different one) he thinks to be very probable, as being the name of the last of the four empires, the *Latin*. But all seems uncertain conjecture.'—*Harrison*, pp. 350—357.

This conclusion is characteristic, and he is not the less to be

respected because such is his conclusion on many points. Uncertain as he confesses his results to be, he will repay a thoughtful reader. His exposition of the four living creatures, as connected in some mysterious way with the great monarchies, is worthy of attention, though it may be too much to say that it is established. Several writers have noticed that they seem to acknowledge the benefit of redemption as their own. His familiarity with the Hebrew prophets leads him to a more frequent reference to the earlier prophecies than is customary with expounders of the Apocalypse, and he is at least suggestive and thoughtful on the subject of the general interpretation of prophetic imagery. But it seems that we must still leave much to the great teacher, time, and do our best so to apprehend the general bearing of the predictions that have been given us, as neither to be too confident of what will, nor unprepared for what may, come upon us.

The student who would commence inquiry, if not discouraged by all this uncertainty, may be recommended to begin with a careful perusal of the Book of Daniel, not neglecting the *Septuagint*.¹ After this he should read the Apocalypse also carefully in Greek, and make an analysis, with parallelisms exhibiting the apparently connected prophecies and coincident events. And throughout he should take pains to note the habitual application of particular symbols and expressions, especially in cases where their meaning can be decisively determined, either in these or other portions of Holy Writ. By doing this, if he will but abstain from hasty conclusions, as he would find himself forced to do if he were pursuing a chemical analysis, or a geological theory, he will at least place himself in a position to know what may be known on this mysterious subject. It would be out of place here to homilize on the reverence and devotion befitting such an inquiry: but it may suffice to say, that the model for an expositor of prophecy is the prophet Daniel. Faithful in Babylon, abstinent in a luxurious court, patient in a long life of exile, fearless in bearing testimony, humbled for his people's sins, constant in devotion, a 'man greatly beloved' was he who 'understood by books' the time of his people's return from captivity, and to whom was revealed the time of a still greater deliverance.

¹ The ordinary Greek may be of use as illustrating the New Testament, but the true *Septuagint* version of the Book of Daniel has only lately been brought to light; and though printed at Rome in the latter part of the last century, is not found in the common editions of the *Septuagint*. See Maitland, p. 26, note.

ART. III.—*Ettore Fieramosca, o La Disfida di Barletta, racconto di MASSIMO D'AZEGLIO.* Parigi: Baudry, Libreria Europea, 1848.

IN our July number, 1848, we called the attention of our readers to the Italian novels, and to those of D'Azeglio in particular, and we are tempted to resume the subject. Our reason is this; we consider the best of them to embody, more than any with which we are acquainted, our conception of what a perfect novel should be. We have always agreed with those, who rank the novel of character as the highest achievement in the department of fiction. In the luxury of the deepest seclusion, without any acute perception of the springs of human action, and, above all, without any minute observation of the manifold changes which they exhibit in the outward frame-work of society, an imaginative mind may dream a series of adventures, which shall chain us for a time in rapt attention, or hurry us on in breathless suspense till the catastrophe has broken the charm. But to such works we rarely return; we do not seek in them the lessons of wisdom and experience. They neither teach us to observe, nor, for any beneficial purpose, to feel. In fact they are mere creations of the fancy. They have no hold upon the heart.

It was doubtless the sense of this defect which gave rise to what may be called the novel of analysis, whose principal aim is a keen and minute dissection of the feelings and motives of the heart. These are, from time to time, laid open with consummate skill in a series of metaphysical disquisitions, but they have little to do with the world as it is. Such novels have little action and no manners. The characters, if characters they may be called, have no individuality. They are described, not shown. If their actions tell, their conversations never do. Commonly, indeed, such works, like the poems of Byron, are but the reflex of the writer's individual mind—a mind often anomalous in its texture, and distorted still more by erroneous opinions and diseased feeling. We would instance, as a case in point, such novels as those of Godwin and Mrs. Shelley. We do not here refer to the false principles and mischievous tendency of those works, but to their artistic merit. As compositions they seem to us a failure. Of course we do not deny the imaginative power shown in such novels as *Frankenstein* and *the Last Man*, *Fleetwood* and *St. Leon*, but they do not show us man as he is. We do

not go to them as the text-book of human life. They are at best only a stern and awful vision which sometimes haunts our slumbers, a kind of mental night-mare from which we are glad to awake to the reality of our daily existence. In one work only, his terrible Caleb Williams, has Godwin shown himself a master of his art. The impression of that romance is indelible. To say nothing of the withering effect of the story, the principal characters are strongly and individually marked. But, even here, it is the all but supernatural grasp, with which Falkland holds his victim, which gives to Caleb Williams its surpassing charm. If written now, its effect might have been heightened to an extent which it is almost frightful to think of. Railroad communication, and above all the wonders of the electric telegraph, might easily have given to Falkland the appearance of ubiquity, and led his victim to feel as if, in contending with him, he was contending with omnipotence.

But, while we give to the novel of character precedence over the novel of analysis, as well as the novel of mere incident, we do not think that all, who have devoted themselves to the highest department of fiction, have fully succeeded in their attempt. Some have attempted more than they could accomplish. Some have succeeded perfectly, but have not attempted enough. The failure of Richardson—we mean of course in attaining perfection, for in many respects he is unrivalled—arose from his ignorance of conventional manners. All the springs of passion, all the strength and weakness of the human heart, were opened up to him and by him, but he knew nothing of the manners which he undertook to paint. Of the tone of good society he was as ignorant as if he had lived all his life at Otaheite; and the defect is painfully felt by the reader of his interminable works, in spite of the graphic power of some of his descriptions, and the overwhelming pathos of others. The novels of Smollett and even Fielding have, we think, been somewhat over-rated as novels of character, independent of their moral tendency. The former, in particular, seem to us often simply disgusting, and we cannot understand how a pure and cultivated taste can take pleasure in scenes and characters, which we trust are no longer true to life, and from which, if real, we should shrink with instinctive abhorrence. We must not take our readers again through the catalogue of those writers of fiction, who have more or less enriched our literature with such delineations of character and manners, as both taste and principle may approve. In our notice of the novels of the authoress of *Emilia Wyndham*, herself a high example of the style of writing to which we refer, this has been already done; but to what we then said of *Jane Austen*, whose works as far as they go we think unrivalled, we have one

remark to add. The authoress of *Emma*, *Mansfield Park*, and *Persuasion*, achieved perfectly what she attempted, but she attempted too little. Whether this arose from distrust of her own powers, or from a deficiency in her aim, the fact is undeniable. The consequence is, in the first place, a detraction from her usefulness. One is not made much better by her works. One admires the consummate skill of the plan, the perfect finish of the details, the matchless delineation of the characters, and the exquisite perception of the failings and weaknesses by which they are distinguished; but one looks in vain for the lofty impulses and deep emotions which 'purify the soul by pity and terror.' There is no intenseness of purpose. We may read her works again and again, and who is there that does not? but they leave us much as we were before. She is a perfect painter, but she belongs to an inferior school. Hence her want of high moral influence. Who is made much better by the matchless truth of a picture of *Teniers* or *Ostade*; but who can stand before a *Madonna* of *Raphael*, and not imbibe, for a time at least, some portion of its purity and submission? But, in the second place, as a mere artist, *Jane Austen* suffers from the narrowness of her range. Even to this day she is not fully appreciated by many. Nay, it would not be difficult to find really clear, and even tasteful persons, who see little or nothing in her. The fact is that it requires patient investigation to enter completely into her merit. Every sentence, almost every word, tells. It will never do to read *Jane Austen*, as most people read novels, merely to get at the story. Her peculiar excellence is in the detail, and a detail so fine in its elaboration, as to escape the insight of all but the acute observer. They who write thus must take the consequence. The fault is partly with their readers, but it is partly with themselves. They paint life truly, but they paint it only in its more ordinary features. They tell the truth, but not the whole truth. Far from it. Life is not the prosaic thing they would make it. It has more stirring events, sterner passions, loftier conceptions, higher aims. There is great artistic skill in writing a book, which shall tell only of what happens any day in every body's house, and yet charm down hours to moments; but still 'there are greater things than these,' and *Jane Austen* has eschewed them.

Now it is their intenseness of purpose which gives their high tone to the Italian novels, and makes us desire to call the attention of our readers again to the subject. They breathe the same truthfulness which charms so much in compositions of an inferior tone, but united with a higher and nobler purpose. Love of liberty, love of man, love of God, self-sacrifice, all that is good, and true, and noble, are the component parts. The Italian

novels seem, indeed, to unite the peculiar merit of the novel of passion and religious enthusiasm, (we use the word in its best sense), with that of the novel of romance and chivalry, and thus to be a happy compound of the deep impressiveness of the one and the gorgeous magnificence of the other.

But it is not merely as novels of character, passion, or chivalry, that the Italian works of fiction have reached the eminence on which they stand. They are all this, but they are more. They have, as we have said, an intense specific purpose. Before we can fully appreciate the works in question, we must, therefore, inquire what that purpose is. This has been stated by Alfieri, who, in spite of the grievous delinquencies of his moral conduct, springing from the absence of religious belief, embodied in his own person the character which he had conceived. In fact the religion of Alfieri was the love of his country, a burning desire to prove, and stir up his compatriots to prove, that a nation, endowed with high capabilities and rich in the recollections of the past, but enslaved, divided, superstitious, and ignorant, might yet be freed from its oppressors, united and ennobled, by men of learning and intelligence, and above all of a true Italian heart. And he felt the influence which the literature of such men might exercise over the public mind. While he visited, with the bitterness of his scorn—and few men could scorn like Alfieri—the hireling poetasters, who, in the pay of some petty court, followed, though with unequal footsteps, the Marini and Guarini of a servile and effeminate school, he felt the sacred vocation of the true poet, the resurrection of Italian literature and Italian patriotism. This was his own aim, and he sought to instil it into others. In all his writings, and particularly in his translation of Sallust and his letters to the literati of his time, he never ceased to magnify their lofty mission,—the union of Italy and its independence. And the seed sown by him, brought forth an abundant harvest. Such of his contemporaries, or of his successors, as admired his talents and revered his patriotism, were proud of treading in the footsteps of so great a man, especially as the human mind became more and more developed, and the bonds of prescription and authority were loosened.

Alfieri, therefore, though not a writer of romance himself, may be considered the germ of those stirring compositions, which, in the present day, we class under the title of the Italian novels. Of these, many are known to the English reader only by their names in the catalogue. Even with the most celebrated, Manzoni, D'Azeglio, Grossi, Cantu, and Guerazzi, we are but slightly acquainted. *I Promessi Sposi*, it is true, has been among us for a considerable time, in an English dress, but its in-

fluence has been slight, perhaps from the imperfect and tasteless manner in which the translation has been executed. And yet it merits all attention. Manzoni led the way to a higher development of the Italian mind. After the example of his master and predecessor Beccaria, whose sterling treatise on 'Crimes and Punishments' is well known and highly valued both at home and abroad, endowed with the finest genius and the deepest feeling, he devoted all the powers of his mind and heart to the great work of the Revival. In his romance, distinguished alike by language of rare felicity, brilliancy of imagination, nature, and elegance, he proposed to himself a nobler object than Alfieri had conceived. He has the same hatred of oppression, the same love of truth and freedom, but he has purer yearnings. The element of his mind, as portrayed in his writings, is essentially religious and devout. He venerates the unseen and the spiritual. In an age of egotism, self-seeking, and infidelity, he kneels before the cross. This required no small moral courage. The Italians had drunk deeply of the doctrines of Voltaire, and had graduated in the mocking school of which he was the founder. They had themselves become 'mockers,' despising all internal belief and all external worship, caring only for material enjoyment, and as bad citizens in their social, as they were bad Catholics in their religious, capacity. In the face of this wide-spreading contempt for holy things, or at least this disbelief of their truth and reality, Manzoni dared to conceive and embody the noble and touching character of Fra Cristoforo, and bring into prominent light the evangelical virtues of the saint-like archbishop. And the execution is as judicious as the conception is true. Without giving the least umbrage to the more questionable usages of the Romish system, he looks above them, substitutes charity for bigotry, and the piety of the heart for the merely formal observances of the ritual. In the historical portions of his work, he has thrown so much light upon the gloomy epocha of the 16th century, during which, by their ignorance and barbarism, the Spaniards lost the richest of their conquests, that Rossini, in his *Monaca di Monza*, and Grossi, in his *Marco Visconti*, had little more to do than work with his materials.

The *Monaca di Monza*, it is well known, is professedly a supplement to *I Promessi Sposi*; but, upon the whole, the work seems to us a failure. Rossini is not without merit; his style is pure, but he is deficient in imagination. He who opens the *Monaca di Monza* in the hope of finding a finished portrait from the terrible sketch of Manzoni, will be grievously disappointed. He will find instead, a catalogue raisonné of the curiosities of Italy (and very wonderful, almost incredible, some of them at that time must have been), in which the awful Geltrude is as

much out of place as a skeleton in an ornamental flower-garden. All that really belongs to her history, does not take up fifty pages. Ugolino, a more recent publication by the same author, pleases, however, universally. Independent of the interest attached to the subject, which is full of historical associations, it has some descriptions of surpassing merit. There is a falcon chase in particular, of rare beauty; and it would be difficult to find a sweeter character than that of Bianca, rich as it is in purity and goodness. We have spoken elsewhere of Marco Visconti; and have said of these compositions generally, that they breathe throughout a high and healthful tone of Christian principle. But we should have excepted the novels of Guerazzi. He wars, not against the abuses of religion, but against religion itself. We know but imperfectly how the Romish system works in countries most avowedly under its control; but we can conceive abuses, of the confessional in particular, which may rouse the indignation of those who do not look beneath the surface. Of such abuses, real or pretended, in his *Siege of Florence*, and his *Isabella Orsini*, Guerazzi has been the pitiless unmasker. The Duke of Bresciano, husband of Isabella Medici, confesses his own wife, in the disguise of a friar, and having learnt her terrible secret, strangles her the next day. But the abuse of a system proves nothing against the system itself. The fact is, that, as far as religion is concerned, Guerazzi has drawn his sword and thrown away the scabbard. One laments this sadly. No Italian has ever written more finely than he has done. His style is full of energy, breathing the nerve of Dante himself, free alike from weakness and constraint, and proving to foreigners, if proof were necessary, that the beautiful language of Italy is somewhat more than the language of music and love.

But our business is with D'Azeglio, a man of far different character; and it may not be out of place to take a rapid survey of his political and literary career, before we proceed to comment on the work, which is the immediate subject of this article. D'Azeglio then, like most of the Italians who had placed the hopes of Italy on the exaltation of Pius IX. to the Pontificate, as a man of lofty genius and commensurate courage, proceeded, when that event took place, to Rome. Here he laboured assiduously in the cause which he had so much at heart, propagating his own opinions among the laity, and those of Gioberto among the clergy. The work of Pius IX, the general amnesty granted to every individual, who, on account of his political opinions or any similar misdemeanour, had incurred the displeasure of Gregory XVI, released from prison or from exile thousands of men, who had for many years been languishing in confinement at Rome, or eating

the bitter bread of dependence abroad. That the minds of these persons should, in the meantime, have been actively employed on the stirring questions which were convulsing the world, cannot be matter of surprise. Those in particular, who were scattered abroad among the other nations of Europe, would naturally form their private opinions of the different governments with which they had been brought into contact, and apply them to the existing state of their own. Unhappily for Italy, the greater number of these exiles had taken up their abode in France, and brought with them, on their return, all the frivolity, all the instability, all the impatience, and in short all the Utopian fancies, which prevailed there, and produced at a subsequent period in both countries such an abundant harvest of evil. To all this D'Azeglio was decidedly opposed. He thirsted for Italian independence, but he deprecated factions and parties; and, far from wishing to establish a Republican government in Italy, he called upon his fellow-countrymen to rally round their native princes, and make common cause against the Austrian stranger. Matters were brought to a crisis by the attack on Ferrara in 1847, when D'Azeglio left no means untried to raise the spirit of the Italians, exhorting them with all that eloquence, of which he is a consummate master, to show themselves the true and worthy descendants of *the heroes of Barletta*. Skilled himself in the art of war, he offered his services to the Pope, and by his own generous example rallied around the patriotic standard a phalanx of enthusiastic men whose watchword was the glory of Italy. The Austrian army was intimidated, and retired with disgrace and ridicule. The object of D'Azeglio then was to form and consolidate the alliance between the three States of Romagna, Tuscany, and Piedmont, of which, if he was not the inventor, he saw the indisputable utility. But the French Revolution now burst forth. Mazzini was despatched into Lombardy, with a recommendation to form a Republic at whatever cost, and a specific announcement that the French Republic would not approve of the aggrandizement of Charles Albert, persuaded that it had no friend in the Prince, nor in fact in any government unlike its own. Under these circumstances, D'Azeglio, who knew too well the mischief which the French had ever done to his native country, gave himself up body and soul to Charles Albert, making the memorable declaration, 'Italy will manage for itself;' and it would have done so, if there had not been discord among the Italians themselves. D'Azeglio was adjutant to General Durando in the Roman body which he commanded, and which twice covered itself with glory by the repulse of the German troops, yielding in the third encounter only to the overwhelming numbers of

the enemy. In this last battle D'Azeglio was wounded. A cry was raised in the meantime at Milan for a revolution, and plots were laid, and almost carried into execution, to dismiss from the government all those who were favourable to the union of Lombardy with Piedmont. It was then that D'Azeglio, seeing that these civil discords must in the end prove fatal to the common cause, took up his pen, and composed the three treatises which are so well known in Italy and elsewhere, 'The Struggles of Lombardy,' 'The Proposal of a Programme for the National Opinion of Italy,' and 'The Last Events of Romagna.' Their tendency seems to be to divert the Italians from a Republic, at least till a constitutional government should have been fully tried. D'Azeglio is now Minister of Foreign Affairs, and President of the Council, in Piedmont; and his object, as far as we can judge of his political career, is to plant there the roots of a truly constitutional government, which may serve as a model for other Italian States, and prepare them by the force of public opinion to attack the common enemy under better circumstances and with better success. Of the character of D'Azeglio's family we have spoken elsewhere. It is in high esteem at Turin. Though Patrician, it is by no means exclusive, but has at all times given testimony of liberal and generous sentiments. Massimo D'Azeglio himself possesses all the qualities of an excellent speaker as well as writer, and such is the affability of his manners, and the charm of his conversation, that no one can leave his company without the most pleasing impression both of his mind and heart.

In the work before us, D'Azeglio had the same object in view as his father-in-law Manzoni, the glory of Italy, and we cannot help thinking that his success has been greater. 'The challenge of Barletta' reaches the very core of the Italian heart, kindles all the martial feeling of his compatriots, and shows how great and magnanimous their warlike forefathers were, when either their own honour, or that of their country, was at stake. Of the manner in which he has executed his design we shall leave our readers to judge, as far as they *can* judge by a slight and imperfect summary of the story, and the mere translation of extracts which charm all hearts in the Italian by their matchless beauty. Perhaps no writer suffers more from translation than D'Azeglio. The rare felicity of his style, the rich colouring of his descriptions, and the point and *naïveté* of his conversations, to say nothing of his thrilling pathos, are enough to drive a translator to despair; and we can only hope to give a faint idea of the work to such as cannot read it in the original.

The scene opens with a graphic picture of the little town of Barletta at the time of the evening Ave Maria. Knots of sol-

diers in the pay of Gonsalvo, Spaniards and Italians intermingled, are giving utterance to the sadness and discouragement naturally arising from their position. Famine has begun to be felt, not only by the soldiery, but by the inhabitants themselves, for the place has been long invested by the French, and Gonsalvo is still too weak to risk the fortune of a battle. But, though invested by land, Barletta is still open to the sea, which is stretched along the fourth side of the square. Here, as the last rays of the setting sun die away upon the summit of Mount Gargano, a small boat is seen in the distance, tacking from time to time in order to catch the veering breezes of the gulf, as they crisp here and there with long streaks the surface of the sea. Feeling, however, that such an arrival as this can bring them no adequate supply, the several parties move off by degrees, and, when the hour of night sounds from the castle, all are at length dispersed, either in the hostel of Veleno situated on the sea-shore, or in the dark and narrow streets of the town. In the meantime the boat touches the strand, two men leap from it, and go straight to the hostel. Their object seems to be to escape observation, in which they partially succeed, but a soldier, seated at a distance in the common room, looking up as they enter, cannot restrain an exclamation of great wonder, followed by 'the Duke!' A glance towards the stranger, however, drives the word down his throat. Supper is ordered for the new comers, which, after many complaints of dearness and scarcity, the host prepares.

And now there is another arrival. A messenger from the town announces the return of a celebrated Spanish captain, Don Diego Garcia, from a foray, who is coming to supper with twenty or twenty-five *good swords*, and three French men-at-arms whom he has made prisoners. He has taken also cattle in abundance to relieve the necessities of the town and garrison. Veleno's guests go in a body to welcome his return. Boscherino, however, who is following with the rest, is pulled by the cloak, and, turning round, sees one of the strangers whom they had left at the hostel. He is in a fever at the sight, and asks in a voice scarcely audible: 'are you Don Michele?'—'Yes, I am. Be silent, and behave like a brave man, as you are.' We must quote part of what follows, as it gives a striking idea of the terrible effect produced by his extraordinary master upon those who were brought into contact with him.

'Boscherino had served with the most celebrated Italian chieftains, and had always borne himself valiantly in the wars of the times. No man cared less for danger than he did, so that when a company was formed by order of Prospero Colonna to be led to assist Gonsalvo, he was engaged with ample pay and held in great esteem. But firm as his courage was, he

now lost his self-command. When he heard Don Michele's words, knew that he must return, and before *whom* in a few moments he must stand, his knees trembled under him, and, if he could have had his choice, he would rather have rushed against ten swordsmen, than go where he must go. At length, having thought over all that had just taken place, he hit upon the truth, and said to himself: "It is too plain that he heard me say—*the Duke* . . . The devil must have been at my tongue's end . . . and yet I was a good way off, and I fancied I did not raise my voice . . . But where cannot that devil incarnate reach? I wonder what mischief he is going to do here now."

"These reflections brought him to the hostel. There was nobody in the kitchen but the people of the house. The Duke had retired to his bed room, which was over that in which supper was served, and the planks, which formed the ceiling of the room below, were so loosely put together, as to leave ample space for seeing and hearing all that took place there. * * *

"Don Michele and Boscherino ascended the stairs, and reached the Duke's chamber. A bed with hangings of grey serge, a small table, and a few stools, were all the furniture of the apartment. The lamp, which was dying away before, was quite extinguished by the gust of wind occasioned by the opening of the door, and, while Don Michele went to fetch another light, Boscherino remained alone with the Duke. He stood motionless where he was, clinging close to the wall, not daring to speak, scarcely to breathe, and astonished at feeling himself *so little*, he who cared for nobody in the world. But he was in the presence of that wonderful and terrible man, and so near him, that, in the silence kept by both, he could hear his hurried breathing, and it gave him in spite of himself such a shiver that he almost wished himself dead. When Don Michele returned with the light, the Duke was seated on the side of the bed. His appearance was that of a man, to whom repose either of body or mind had never been known. Stout and well-limbed, and a little above the ordinary height, there was notwithstanding in all his movements something indescribably tremulous. He wore a dark cloak with sleeves which hung in many folds. A light dagger was stuck in his girdle, and on the table lay his sword, with a hat ornamented with a single black plume. He wore gauntlets on his hands, and on his legs heavy travelling boots. The face which he turned upon the two comers was pale, the cheeks deeply furrowed and sprinkled with livid spots, the whiskers and beard of a reddish hue, the latter rather long, and flowing down over the breast in two divisions. There was nothing in the whole world which resembled his look. He could make it at one time more piercing than that of a viper, at another as gentle as the eye of an infant, at another as terrible as the bloody pupil of the hyæna.

"He looked at Boscherino, who had doubled himself up to half his usual height, and was still standing in the same place, as if under sentence of death, but it was a look to disarm all fear. Still Boscherino knew him, and was not completely reassured.

"*"Thou hast recognised me, Boscherino,"* he said, *"and I am glad of it, for I have always held thee a good and trustworthy man. If thou hadst not come in my way, I should have sought thee out. I knew that thou wert here. Not a word to any one that thou hast seen me. Thou knowest that I can reward thy services; and that it would not do thee much good to displease me."*

"The soldier knew but too well that this was true, and answered:

"*"Your illustrious Excellency may dispose of me as you will: I shall be, as I have always been, your faithful servant: nor do I believe that my past life can give any proofs to the contrary: only may I beg your Excellency to permit me to speak two words?"*

'The Duke having given sign of assent, he went on:

"I have pledged my faith to you, illustrious Lord! nor shall it fail to all eternity. But some one else may have seen you, the affair be spread abroad, and I be blamed for it without any fault of mine: so that I do not see how I am to come off with honour."

"Go," replied the Duke, "have a good will, do the duty of an honest fellow, and I will not blame thee for what thou canst not help. I only want to lie hid for a few hours: every one may then know, and say what he will. Only never let it come from *thy* mouth, as thou dost value my favour."

'To this Boscherino replied only by a reverential inclination of the head, putting on the look of one prompt to obey, and whose only fear is that he may not be thought obedient enough. He then took his leave, and, backing out of the room with many bows, thought it an age before he got into the street.'

As the evening advances the company assemble for the supper; and with Diego Garcia de Paredes come his prisoners the three French barons. Their conversation is detailed with much spirit, and the characters of the several guests are accurately defined and well sustained. Garcia is the hero of the evening. He is in fact in the army of Gonsalvo, what Bayard is in that of the Duke de Nemours, except that his pre-eminence rests more upon mere physical strength, than that of the 'chevalier sans peur et sans reproche.' He is a noble and generous fellow notwithstanding. On the present occasion, he treats his prisoners with distinguished courtesy, and for some time all goes on well and amicably. At length, however, the wine gets into the head of the carousers, some unfortunate observations are made by one of the Spaniards, the French arrogance breaks out, and the Italian character is grossly vilified and belied by the chief of the prisoners, La Motte. Fieramosca is not present, for his sad and retiring character keeps him as much as possible from the festivities of his fellow soldiers. Inigo, however, a Spanish chieftain and his intimate friend, accepts the Frenchman's challenge in the name of his Italian allies, gives his pledge that champions shall be forthcoming, and that the combat shall not be a mere tilting match, but fought till every man be killed, taken prisoner, or forced to quit the field. This is the celebrated *challenge of Barletta*; and it only remains that it shall be sanctioned by the chiefs of the contending armies.

But the challenge is not the only result of the conversation. During its progress, a glimpse of light is thrown, both on the attractive character of Fieramosca, and the origin of his mysterious sadness. Ginevra di Monreale, beautiful, amiable, and virtuous, had been seen by one of the French noblemen at Rome. She had become the wife of a soldier who was in their pay, more in obedience to her father, than from any affection

which she bore her husband, and had the misfortune to become known to the *Duke*, then cardinal, Valentino. Seized soon afterwards by a sudden malady, of which no one could divine the cause, and for which all the remedies used were ineffectual, she sank rapidly under it. It was not long before a singular accident revealed the infernal secret; and it was discovered that she died of poison, administered by Valentino, in revenge for her chaste rejection of his addresses. From that moment no one knew what had become of Fieramosca, till he re-appeared at Barletta in the camp of Gonsalvo, where he was received as a son by the brothers Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna, who assigned a small house to him, on the sea-shore, adjoining their own apartments. We give the fine description in which he is introduced to the reader.

‘It was the day after the supper: the light of early dawn had scarcely defined in the horizon the dark line of the sea so as to distinguish it from the sky, when young Fieramosca, having left the bed on which he never found tranquil repose, stepped out upon a terrace, at the foot of which the waves were dashing, slightly agitated by the morning breeze.

‘Poor inhabitants of the north! Little do you know what such an hour is worth under the fine sky of the south; on the margin of the sea shore, when all nature is still asleep, and the silence is scarcely broken by the gentle gurgling of the water, which, like thought, has never been at rest since the day that it was first created, and never will be till it has ceased to exist. He who has never been alone at such an hour, never felt the wing of the twilight bat fan his face at the first beginning of the heat on the beautiful coasts of Southern Italy, does not know how far the Divine beauty of created things can go.

‘Near the terrace wall grew a palm-tree. Seated on the parapet, his back resting against the trunk, his hands clasped, and supporting himself upon one knee, the young soldier enjoyed a few moments rest, and breathed the pure air which precedes the morning.

‘Nature had bestowed on him the inestimable gift of an instinctive longing for all that is good, great, and noble. He was chargeable it may be with one single defect, a superabundance of the milk of human kindness. But, brought up from his earliest infancy among deeds of arms, he soon learned to know men and things; and was taught by the correctness of his judgment the limits which must be put to kindness itself lest it degenerate into weakness; while the rigidity, which grows but too often out of a life of continued peril, became, in a heart like his, only a proper firmness, the precious and appropriate portion of a manly breast.

‘The father of Fieramosca had grown old in the wars which during the 15th century tore Italy in pieces, and could give nothing to Ettore but his sword, and long did the young man cherish the lesson of his infancy. He believed the occupation of arms the only one that was worthy of him, had in fact thoughts which did not rise above the times in which he lived, and held that gain and reputation were all that need be sought in deeds of arms.

‘But as years advanced, understanding ripened. During the intervals of war, instead of spending his leisure time in the chase, or in jousts and other youthful pleasures, he cultivated letters; and when he became acquainted with ancient authors, and read of the time honoured deeds of those, who shed their blood, not for the sake of those who paid them

best, but for the welfare of their country, he felt the *guilt* of arms, if they are borne only to grow rich with the spoils of the rich and helpless, not from the righteous motive of self-defence. * * * *

'As the light diffused itself from the east, the last lingering stars gradually faded and were lost to the eye. The sun now illuminated the highest tops of Mount Gargano, tinging them with a rosy hue which was changed to purple in the dark clefts of the hill, while the shore beneath, curved like a half moon where it joins the sands on which Barletta is situated, gave to the eye as day advanced a pleasing and varied interchange of hills and valleys bathing themselves in the sea. * * * *

'In the inmost recesses of the gulf, on a small island connected with the land by a long and narrow bridge, arose amidst a clump of palms and cypresses a convent with its church and belfry, the whole surrounded by turrets and embattled walls to defend it against any sudden attack of Corsairs or Saracens.

'Ettore appeared to be looking at it with the deepest interest, peering through his eyelashes because the mist, which at this hour covers the lower grounds, scarcely permitted him to distinguish the outlines of the building. He caught, however, with outstretched ear, the faint sound of the bell which announced the morning *Ave Maria*, and was so absorbed that he did not hear the voice of Inigo calling him from the court below.

"After such a day as yesterday," said Inigo, as he too stepped out upon the terrace, "I should not have expected to see thee up before sunrise."

'He, whose heart has ever been full of some one great and burning thought, can tell how pleasant it was to Fieramosca to be caught in it, and compelled to leave it. As he turned round, his countenance could not entirely hide his feeling, and even Inigo felt that he had come inopportunistically. But the mind of Ettore was too just, and his heart too kind, to blame his friend for this involuntary interruption. Without giving a direct answer, he came forward to meet him, shook hands, and at length, having fully recovered himself, said quietly, "What good wind blows thee hither at this hour?"

"The very best; and I bring thee news for which thou shouldst pay the messenger. I could not wait till daybreak, and so here I am. I have always envied thy good fortune. Thou art a lucky fellow, Ettore! Heaven has kept for thee gratis a glorious enterprise, which thou wouldst have purchased, I am quite sure, at a high price. Well! it comes to thee without trouble or expense. Thou wert born with a silver spoon in thy mouth."

Ettore is then informed by Inigo of what had happened the evening before; his taking the part of the Italians, and the consequent challenge.

'When he came to the insolent words of La Motte, and he well knew how to give them their full force, the spirited Italian sprang to his feet, struck a table that stood near with his clenched fist, and, with eyes that sent forth sparks of proud and indignant joy, cried:

"Miserable as we are, it is not yet come to this, that arms or swords should be wanting to drive back into this French robber's throat the words which, unhappily for him, have escaped his mouth. And God bless thee, Inigo, my dear brother!" (embracing him warmly as he spoke), "thou hast bound me to thee for ever by the care which thou hast taken of our honour; and never, either in life or death, shall I consider my debt discharged." And the caresses on the one side, and the proffers on the other, were endless. At length, the first warmth being a little abated, Fieramosca said:

"This is a time not for talking but for doing;" and as the servant whom he hastily called was helping him to dress, he went on naming the companions who might be chosen for the enterprise, willing to make the company as large as he could. "We have many good fellows among us, but it is a case of great importance, and we must choose the best. Brancaleone—one. No French lance will make him budge an inch, with that pair of shoulders which he has at his command. Capoccio and Giovenale, all three Romans: I can tell thee that the Horatii did not hold a sword firmer in their hands than they. Three.—Let us go on. Fanfulla da Lodi, the fellow that is *possessed*—dost know him?"

Inigo looked up, knitting his brows a little, and compressing his lips, as one does who would recall any thing to his mind.

"Oh, thou *must* know him! The Lombard; one of Signor Fabrizio's lances. He who galloped the other day along the top of the wall of the bastion at the gate of San Baccolo—"

"Oh, yes, yes!" replied Inigo, "now I recollect him."

"Well, four. As long as he has any hands to use, he will use them. I will be the fifth, and, with God's help, will do my duty. Masuccio!" he cried, calling to his servant, "my shield lost its handle yesterday; see that it is set to rights, and soon: you understand. Let the long sword and the dagger be sharpened, and—what did I mean to say more?—Ah! is my Spanish armour in good condition?" The servant gave sign of assent.

"Thou wilt have time enough," said Inigo, smiling at his impetuosity, "to put thyself in perfect trim, for the battle will not take place either to-day or to-morrow."

But Fieramosca was not thinking of this, for he was burning with impatience, and longed to be already in the *mêlée*. Paying no attention, therefore, to what the Spaniard said, he went on tracing out more companions, for five seemed to him but a scanty number, and at length cried out—

"And why not Romanello da Forli? Six. Lodovico Benevoli—seven. You know these fellows, Inigo. You have seen them at it. Masuccio, Mesuccio!"

And the servant, who had gone down, ran up again.

"Let my battle horse, Airone, the one which Signor Prospero gave me, have as much hay and corn as he will eat; and before the heat of the day trot him round for an hour, and look to his shoes."

As he was giving these orders he went on dressing. The servant gave him his cloak; and, having put on his sword and his cap with its azure plume, he turned to Inigo and said:

"Now I am at thy service. We must first talk to Signor Prospero, and then speak a word to Gonsalvo about the safe-conduct."

The challenge meets with high approbation both from the Italian chieftain and the Spanish general, and Ettore is sent with Brancaleone to the French camp to propose the combat to the Duke de Nemours. On their way thither, Brancaleone ventures, on the score of ancient friendship, to question Ettore about his mysterious sadness; and, after some slight hesitation, the tale is told. At the early age of sixteen, Fieramosca, then serving under Count Bosio di Monreale, to whom the defence of the city of Capua had been entrusted, became known to his daughter Ginevra, and a mutual attachment was the consequence. There was, however, no immediate declaration. A blue scarf, with which Ettore never afterwards parted, thrown

out of Ginevra's window as her lover passed along on horseback in the early dawn, on his way to Lombardy, was the only pledge of her affection which he then received. On his return, after the lapse of a year, the intercourse of the lovers was renewed, and their affection increased. After much repressed feeling, and consequent suffering both of body and mind, Ettore at length declared his attachment, but was led, unfortunately, to believe the declaration unacceptable. Under this impression he resolved to tear himself away, and meet death in the field of battle. When the time of his departure came, and he was taking leave of the Count the evening before, a sudden glance from Ginevra, who was present, revealed the truth. It was then, however, too late, and he was gone. Wounded in a rencounter, he was afterwards laid up for two months in the neighbourhood of Rome, during which time he heard nothing of Ginevra or her father. After his recovery he proceeded to the Eternal City, which he found in great confusion, the pope and Cæsar Borgia fled, and the French troops in possession of the town. He remained but a few days at Rome, when he determined to return to Capua to learn tidings of Ginevra, and set out for that purpose. As he was passing the Coliseum, he encountered a body of French soldiers, bearing on a litter one of their officers who was sick and wounded. Ginevra was in their company, but so faded that he had nearly fallen to the earth at sight of the change. He had still however sufficient presence of mind to track them home, and with the help of a friend at Rome contrived to make himself acquainted with the fatal truth. When, after a stout resistance, Capua had been taken by storm, Claudio Graiano d'Asti, one of the besiegers, forced an entrance into the house of the Count di Monreale, who, wounded in the assault, had been carried thither to die. Ginevra in her despair threw herself at the feet of the soldier, and implored his pity for herself and her father. The Count offered him his daughter in marriage, and all her possessions, if he would preserve her honour. Ginevra could make no resistance, and two days after her father expired. One interview between Ettore and Ginevra, supposed to be their last, follows this explanation, after which they part, in spite of their misery, in some degree consoled. In the meantime, the husband's wound confined him to the house, and he was visited during his convalescence by many noblemen and prelates, and among the rest by the Duke Valentino, and even by Ettore himself. At length, when Graiano was once more in a condition to mount his horse, he accepted advantageous offers from the Duke, and was taken into his pay. Ettore was on the point of offering his own services, in order to follow the fortunes of Ginevra and her

husband, but a secret repugnance withheld him. He was even absent from Graiano's last circle previous to his departure, and passed the time alone, given up to a thousand anxieties and suspicions. He went however to the house next evening, when he was startled by an unusual whispering, and the appearance of a priest who came forth as from the bed of the dying. Rushing in, he was told by the servant that her mistress was in the agonies of death. She had been taken with a fainting fit after supper the evening before, but had then excited no alarm. She lay quiet till morning, but as the day wore on, and she was still insensible, a certain master Jacopo da Montebuono, who dabbled in medicine, was sent for, and found her almost cold. Instead, however, of using active remedies, he passed it all off carelessly, and told them to let her alone. Coming back later in the day, he grew frightened, said she was going, sent in a hurry for the priest, and without trying any other means for her restoration, told the disconsolate family, a little after the Ave Maria, that she was gone.

Fieramosca was saved from the immediate effects of his despair by his Roman friend, who came again to his assistance; while the accidental sight of the *blue scarf* opened the fountain of his tears, and relieved for the moment the oppression of his heart. His mind, however, was made up to die upon the coffin of Ginevra, and Franciotto had no sooner left him for a moment alone, than he took his scarf and his dagger, and departed. He had not gone far before he met the funeral, which he accompanied to the church. When the requiem had been sung, the company dispersed, and Fieramosca was left alone, and in darkness, for there was no other light but the lamp burning before the Madonna. At this moment the clock struck the hour, and the Sacristan walked down the church, shaking his bunch of keys, and preparing to lock the doors. In passing near Ettore, he was aware of his presence, and said: 'We are shutting up for the night.' 'And,' Ettore answered, 'I remain.' 'Are you the Duke's man? You are too soon . . . The door will be left ajar, and now that you are here, I may go about my business.' Ettore wondered, but was far from suspecting the truth. In the meantime, his purpose continued firm, but he resolved first to snatch a last look, and with his dagger drew out the nails of the coffin, and opened the lid. The beautiful countenance of Ginevra appeared, and he was tempted to impress on it a last kiss. The lips had a slight tremulous motion. The pulse gave a feeble sign. Ginevra lives. The Roman friend of Ettore, who had followed him to the church, and observed all his motions, now came forward, and they bear her off, still in a state of unconsciousness, to a

bark on the Tiber, belonging to Franciotto. As he goes to seek medical help, Franciotto meets the escort of Valentino, and the empty litter intended for Ginevra's abduction. Among the company was the infamous Jacopo de Montebuono. Franciotto witnessed the disappointment and rage of Valentino, when told by one of the attendants that the coffin was broken open and empty; and saw the men at arms retire with their chieftain, baffled and scorned. Jacopo was returning home alone, when Franciotto overtook him, and persuaded him to follow to the bark. Here his recognition of Ginevra, and his terror at the threats of Ettore and his friend, brought on a full confession of his past guilt, and a promise of strict silence for the future.

When Ginevra was restored to recollection, she learned that Valentino, and her husband, now completely the Duke's creature, had left Rome together, and that, even if Graiano could certainly be traced, her return to him must be full of peril, while with Ettore, she would be 'as with her mother.' With full confidence in his honour, though not without some conscientious misgivings, she consented therefore to remain under his guardianship. They passed the first two years at Messina, Ginevra taking up her residence in a convent, and Fieramosca visiting her from time to time as her brother. There is in such relationships, indeed, a divergence from ordinary law, which, without implying even an approach to impropriety, affects a reader unpleasantly: he has to keep up an explanation to himself. And this perhaps will act upon him in scenes where he would specially like to be free from any such accompaniment. In one most affecting scene, for example, which we shall come to, even the victory of a female heart over all earthly affection, will still require the accompaniment of the explanation, as regards the subject of the sacrifice. We can only say, that in the present case, the relationship is produced so unavoidably, is maintained with such actual purity, and was, whatever irregularity there is in it, atoned for by such genuine conscientious fears and distresses, that the most scrupulous reader has no real cause to complain.

On the renewal of the war between France and Spain, with the full approbation of the courageous Ginevra, Ettore joined the banner of Prospero Colonna; and on their way to Manfredonia, the head quarters of the Italian chieftain, they met with a singular adventure. They had joined a convoy of Venetian vessels, which were escorting the Queen of Cyprus to her dominions, and were following in their wake, when, at midnight, all being still, footsteps were heard on the deck of the Queen's ship, then suppressed threats, the stifled entreaties of a female voice, and a sudden plunge into the sea. This was a woman,

naked to her shift, and tied hand and foot, whom Ettore saves. The character seems intended only to excite and disappoint expectation.

"And now, thou wilt want to know," says Ettore to his friend at the conclusion of his narrative, "who this girl is, but I cannot satisfy thee, for I do not know myself. Neither I, nor Ginevra, have ever been able to get a word from her on the subject. She was born in the Levant, and is certainly a Saracen; and a more upright, loyal, and kind-hearted creature there is not in the world; but she is at the same time bold and spirited, one whom neither arms nor blood can terrify, and who, in the presence of danger, is more a man than a woman. From that day to this she has always continued with Ginevra, and the Abbess of S. Ursula has consented to receive them both in her convent, where, from its vicinity to Barletta, I am able to visit them often."

The narrative ended, Ettore and Brancalone enter the French camp, where almost the first person that appears, is Graiano d'Asti, the husband of Ginevra. He is chosen by the French as one of their champions in the approaching combat, and, Italian though he be, he accepts the office. This fact, like the challenge itself, is historical. The indignation of Ettore at his baseness, is well told, but we must pass it over.

The scene now shifts to the upper chamber of the hostel, and its guests Cæsar Borgia and his tool Don Michele da Corella. The servant is worthy of his master. He had once a young and beautiful wife; and a bachelor brother was domesticated with them. He was younger than Michele, and an incestuous intrigue was the result of the arrangement. The husband vowed vengeance with all the virulence of his implacable nature, and the adulterer fled. For years Michele watched and waited in vain. At length, as a last resource, he feigned penitence, became a barefooted monk, discharged the outward duties of his religion in the most exemplary manner, and was finally raised to the Priesthood. Suspicion is now disarmed. When he has said his first mass, and is receiving, according to custom, the congratulations of his friends and relations, his brother ventures to draw near to the newly made priest, and throws himself into his arms. But he never lifts his head again. With an exclamation of triumphant joy, Michele stabs him to the heart and disappears. Sentence of death is passed on the murderer, who flies from place to place, till at last he takes refuge in Rome. There Valentino saves his life, and soon finds his value; and the infamous priest becomes in a short time the soul of all his enterprises. On the present occasion, Valentino has two objects in view, to form a secret political treaty with Gonsalvo, and re-possession himself of Ginevra, whose escape he had never either forgotten or forgiven. To accomplish this double purpose, Michele is ordered to proceed

to the castle. And fortune favours the latter enterprise. Previous to his interview with Gonsalvo, he stumbles upon the *Podesta*, or Governor of Barletta, a foolish, prating coxcomb, who gives him an insight into Ettore's position with Ginevra, and promises to bring him farther information at the hostel. Michele then paves the way for Valentino's reception at the fortress, and returns to his master with a safe conduct from the Spanish chieftain. An interview takes place, but with no immediate result; the duke, however, being installed in a suite of lower apartments looking out upon the sea, which are placed at his disposal as long as he chooses to remain at Barletta, and where he is attended by some of the confidential servants of Gonsalvo, with all the honour due to the Pope's son.

Fieramosca and Brancalone now return with a letter from the Duke de Nemours, who accepts the challenge, but refuses a free field for the combat. This, however, is offered by Gonsalvo, who, at the same time, proclaims a truce till the combat has been fought, and invites the Duke to be present at the projected festivities, on the arrival of his daughter, Donna Elvira.

We are then introduced to the convent, and we extract an interview between Ettore and Ginevra, which seems to us full of purity and sweetness.

'The convent, built on the island between Mount Gargano and Barletta was dedicated to St. Ursula. Its walls now present to the eye only a mass of ruins, overrun with thorns and ivy; but, at the period of our history, they were in good preservation, and formed a building of severe aspect, raised by the tardy remorse of a princess of the house of Anjou, who came there to finish piously a life passed in the licentiousness of pleasure, and the tumult of ambition. A solitude more tranquil, or more pleasant, could not be desired.

'Upon a rock, about twenty yards above the level of the sea, is a platform of fertile land, fifty paces in circumference. In the angle nearest to the main land rises the church, which is entered by a beautiful portico, supported by slender pillars of gray granite. The interior, which consists of a nave and side aisles, with pointed arches resting on clustered columns, rich with carving, is lighted by long Gothic windows of painted glass, which represent the miracles of the Saint. The gallery behind the high altar is circular, and ornamented with mosaics on a gold ground.

'Being far from any human habitation, the church was nearly always empty. The nuns alone were collected in the choir at stated hours, both of the day and night, to chaunt the service. It was towards evening, and while vespers were being sung behind the high altar in the usual prolonged and monotonous tone, that a woman knelt and prayed beside a tomb of white marble discoloured by age, over which rose a canopy of the same material, adorned with foliage and animals in gothic carving, while beneath reposed the bones of the foundress of the convent.

'She was covered with a veil from head to foot of the colour of the marble, and pale and motionless as she was in the attitude of prayer, might have been mistaken for a statue placed there by the skill of the artist to embody his conception of a praying figure, if two long tresses of chestnut hair had not escaped from the veil, and if the eyelids, which were raised

from time to time, had not suffered two blue eyes to shine through them, in which might be seen the fervour of the most ardent supplication.

'Poor Ginevra, (for she it was) had need of prayer, for she was in a position in which the heart of woman needs more than its own strength in order to subdue itself. She repented, when it was too late, of her resolution to follow Fieramosca, and unite her fortunes in some degree with those of a man, whom both duty and prudence taught her in an especial manner to avoid. She repented having remained so long without inquiring whether her husband was alive or dead. Reason told her, that it might be done yet, but the heart answered, 'It is too late,' and the words sounded like an irrevocable sentence. And so the days lingered on, long, anxious, bitter, without hope of cure even by yielding to one or other of those conflicting inclinations. No wonder that her health was failing under the constant struggle.

'The morning hours, and those near mid-day, were less difficult to bear. She worked, or read, or walked in the convent garden. But alas! for the evening! Like those insects which seem multiplied at sunset, and become every moment more and more annoying, the blackest thoughts and most perplexing cares waited only for that hour to light upon her all at once. Ginevra then took refuge in the church. She did not indeed find happiness there, nor even peace, but she found at least a few moments' consolation.

'Her prayer was short, and it was one that never varied: "Most holy Virgin! make me desire not to love him;" and sometimes she added, "make me resolved to seek Graiano and desire to find him," but she had not often the heart to offer this prayer. * * *

'This particular day, by one of those natural changes of feeling from high to low which happen to us all, she seemed able to take the better part. Her failing health suggested the near approach of sickness, and the idea of dying amidst the terrors of a guilty conscience turned the scale, and made her resolve to inquire about Graiano, and return with him, if he were discovered, in any manner and at any cost. If Fieramosca had been present, she would have declared her resolution without hesitating a moment; "But," she said to herself, as she rose to leave the church, "this evening he shall know all."

The service over, the nuns retire to their cells, and Ginevra to a building separated from the cloister, and set apart for the reception of strangers, in which she resides with Zoraide, the woman saved from drowning by Fieramosca. She finds the young Saracen embroidering a cloak of blue satin, which they were both working in silver for Ettore, and singing in a low and subdued tone one of the plaintive songs of her native country. Ginevra sighs and passes on to a balcony shaded with vines, which commands a view of Barletta.

'A dark speck, which looked almost stationary, was soon visible on that part of the sea which was nearest the opposite shore. After a quarter of an hour it approached, grew larger, and though it was scarcely possible to distinguish that it was a boat rowed by a single man, Ginevra recognised it and her heart felt oppressed. By a sudden revulsion in all her ideas, it seemed to her now impossible to say that, which a moment before she had, or fancied she had, irrevocably determined. She would have been glad to see the boat turn back, but on, on it came,—neared the island, and at last the dash of the oars was heard, as they dipped in, and rose out of the water.

"Zoraide, he is here," she said, turning to her companion, who just raised her head in token of recognition, and then cast her eyes again upon her work. Ginevra went down to the landing-place, which she reached at the moment that Fieramosca was laying aside his oars, and fixing the prow of the boat to the rock.

'But if Ginevra's heart failed her when she would have declared her resolution, Fieramosca, who had events quite as important to reveal, had no more courage than herself.

'He had been long away from the places in which Graiano had been fighting, and had not heard any news of him for a long time. At length some soldiers from Romagna, either misinformed as to the fact, or mistaking the name, affirmed that he had been killed. It was so much the interest of Ettore to believe them, that he gave himself but little trouble to ascertain the truth. He put it off, in short, from day to day, till his own eyes made further self-deception impossible. He returned to Barletta, however, still at variance with himself, doubtful whether to reveal the fact to Ginevra or not. In one case he was separated from her for ever, and in the other he was culpable, and how could he hide any thing from her who was accustomed to read all his thoughts?

'He was still halting between two opinions when he reached the island. He had resolved upon nothing, and when he came suddenly upon Ginevra, and was obliged by circumstances to decide for yes or no, he adopted the latter for the moment, saying to himself, "We will think about it afterwards."

"I am late to-day," he said, as he ascended the steps, "but we have had a great to do this morning, and there are great news."

"News!" replied Ginevra, "good or bad?"

"Good: and, by God's help, in a day or two they will be still better."

'They had reached the esplanade before the church. At its extreme boundary, where the rock sank precipitately into the sea, a low wall ran along as a protection; some cypresses were arranged in a circle near, in the centre of which was a wooden cross, and around it were placed several rustic seats.

'After they had seated themselves at their ease beneath the silver light of the moon, which now overpowered the purple hue of twilight, Fieramosca began:

"Rejoice, my Ginevra. This has been a glorious day for Italy and for us; and, if God defends the right, it will be the forerunner of still greater glory. But now is the time for thee to exercise courage: thou must show thyself an example to Italian women."

"Speak!" she replied, looking at him fixedly, as if to study his countenance, and read there by anticipation the proof expected of her. "I am a woman, but I have courage."

"I know it, Ginevra; and sooner could I doubt that the sun will rise to-morrow than doubt of thee." And then he told her of the challenge, and described minutely its origin, their going to the French camp, their return, and the combat which was in preparation; and how his words glowed, how the love of glory and of his country burned in every expression he uttered, and how the presence of Ginevra added fuel to the flame, *they* will understand whose hearts have beaten more quickly in speaking of generous deeds, done for the welfare of their country, to a woman capable of comprehending them.

'As Ettore went on in his explanation, and as his voice, words, gestures, grew more and more animated, Ginevra's respiration became more hurried: like a sail swollen by the wind, her bosom rose and fell under the impulse of the impetuous, conflicting passions, all however worthy of herself, by which it was agitated; and her eyes, which seemed to take their

expression from the young man's words, kindled, and almost emitted sparks of fire.

'At length, laying hold of the hilt of Fieramosca's sword with her white and delicate hand, and lifting up her face courageously, she said:

"If I had only thy arm! If I could make this whiz, which I can scarcely hold upright! Thou shouldst not go alone. No! and I should not perhaps be doomed to hear, The Italians have conquered, but on the field there lies. . . Oh, I know it, I know it. Thou wilt never return conquered. . ." and here, overcome by the thought of the present danger, she could not help bursting into a flood of tears, some of which fell upon Fieramosca's hand.

"Why dost thou weep, Ginevra? Wouldst thou, for anything the world can give, prevent this combat from being fought?"

"Oh! no, Ettore: never, never! Do me not such injustice:" and drying her tears, she added anxiously: "I do not weep. . . See, it is over. . . It was only for a moment. . ." Then with a smile, which her still moistened eye-lids made more beautiful, she said:

"I wanted to play the heroine and talk of swords and battles, but you see I am found out: I deserve it."

"Women of thy stamp may make swords do wonders without touching them; you might turn the world upside down. . . if you knew how to set about it. I am not talking of thee, Ginevra, but of the Italian women, who are but too much unlike thee.* * *"

The meeting of Don Michele and the foolish governor of Barletta at the hostel is without effect; but the next day fortune favours them. They meet accidentally with the gardener of the convent, and learn from him the residence of Ginevra on the island, and the visits of Fieramosca. In order to work on the governor's imagination, and gain his assistance in carrying off Ginevra, Don Michele then gets up a scene in a ruined chapel, which reminds us of *Dousterswivel*, in the *Antiquary*, and must, we think, though perhaps unconsciously, have been suggested by that work. An iron box, full of florins, has been previously buried here, for the express purpose of being dug up again, while *Boscherino* plays the part of a spectre, who is evoked by magical incantations to discover where the treasure is deposited. So far the plot succeeds, but, at the moment when the money is poured forth at the feet of the astounded Governor, the door suddenly bursts open, and a band of ruffians seize upon him and Don Michele, while *Boscherino*, whom they do not observe, contrives to make his escape. Don Michele is bound hand and foot, and carried blindfold to a fortress, which guards the entrance to the island on which the convent of *St. Ursula* is situated. The captain who commands it, though in the pay of the Abbess, is secretly in connexion with the robbers. An interview takes place between this man and Don Michele, respecting the ransom of the latter, when the design of carrying off Ginevra is laid open, a large bribe offered, and the assistance of *Martino* promised. In the mean time the poor Governor has been frightened out of the few wits he had, maltreated, and

finally murdered by the captain of the banditti. Boscherino has made his way to Barletta, and returned with a strong body of the police, aided by a party of soldiers, under the command of Fieramosca and Fanfulla, who take the leader of the ruffians and his mother into custody, and bring them to the fortress of St. Ursula. They are thrown into the dungeon where Michele had passed the night, and are visited there by this miscreant, who fears that the capture of Pietraccio and his mother may hinder the execution of his project, and is anxious to contrive their escape. We extract the scene which follows.

'He took the keys, descended to the ground floor, and gently opened the door: He bent down his ear to listen: The mother and son were speaking; and, stopping on the first step of the four or five that led into that miserable hole, he contrived, by stretching out his neck, both to see and hear what the two poor wretches were about.

'The woman had been laid on the ground, her head resting on a beam in one of the angles of the dungeon, but in the feverish struggles, occasioned by the anguish of her wound, she had fallen forward on the moist and spongy earth, and had not strength to raise herself. Her son's arms had been bound so tightly to his breast that he could not move a finger, and all his efforts to help her had been in vain; so that, at last, he sunk on his knees beside her in despair, and rolled his heavy and stupid eyes, now on his mother, and now on the wall.

'The woman tried every now and then to raise her head, but was too weak to do it by herself. At length, though with much difficulty, her son contrived, during one of these efforts, to assist her with his knee, so as to place her in her first position; but the motion gave her so much pain, that, putting her hands to her head with a lengthened groan, she said:

"Curse the bill-hook of that Calabrian villain! . . . But, if the devil will let me alone for two minutes. . . I want to tell thee, once for all, who thou art. . . What is the use of praying to God and the Saints? Little did they care for me when I prayed to them!" . . . And here, raising her dim eyes to the vaulted roof, she gave utterance to blasphemies, which would have made the hair of any one but Pietraccio stand on end.—"And yet," she went on, her fierce desperation succeeded by another more mournful though equally profound, "and yet, even I once hoped for pardon! . . . When I sung with the nuns! . . . Oh cursed be the hour when I put my foot upon the threshold! . . . But what does it matter? I was the devil's before I was born. . . I tried to get away from him. . . See how I have succeeded." And then, raising her eyes to heaven again, she cried with an expression which cannot be described, "art thou satisfied?" Then, turning to her son, "But, if thou canst get away from here. . . if thou art a man. . . he, who is the cause of my death and thy ruin, if what the priests say is true, will burn with me for ever. . . That night at Rome, when I put thee beside the Bloody Tower, and bade thee kill *him*, that *gentleman*, and thou, fool as thou wert, didst cry out first, and they took thee, and made thee what thou art. . . It was Cæsar Borgia! . . . He was a student at Pisa, (I was in the Nunnery then), and he fell in love with me, and I, mad fool as I was, with him. I did not know him. . . One night he came to me. . . I had a little daughter seven years old. . . She overheard us. . . She slept in a closet near. . . She saw him stealing through the window, and began to cry out. . . woe to him if he had been caught. . . he had just been made Bishop of Pamplona. . . he heaped the pillows upon her head. . . and then with his

knees... monster! I fell to the earth. . . Swear to me by hell, by my death, that thou wilt kill him: make a sign that thou swearest. . . thou canst at least do this."

"With eyes horribly distended and gazing fixedly at his mother, the assassin nodded his head in sign of assent, and she, taking from her neck a chain which she wore under her dress, added:

"And when thou hast struck him to the heart, bid him look at this chain. . . shake it before his eyes. . . tell him that thy mother sends it back to him. . . I have not done yet. . . Oh! one moment more! then I don't care for thee. . . When I recovered, I found myself stretched upon the bed. . . and then, thou art. . . Oh! I cannot tell it. . . by the side of poor Inez. . . Oh! how beautiful thou wert! . . . and now thou art in Paradise! . . . and I, I! why must I go to hell?" . . . These last words were accompanied with a shriek, which shook the vaulted roof. She was dead.

"Pietraccio was not much moved; but gazed with stupid look upon the convulsive struggles of his mother. When he saw that she had breathed her last, he crouched down in the farthest corner, like a wild beast, shut up in the same den with the dead body of one of its own species, which feels disgusted and turns away.

"The whole narration had been made with many interruptions, and in a kind of delirium, and had been only partially heard. The idea which struck the robber most forcibly was, that he had to revenge himself upon Cæsar Borgia for many injuries, but chiefly, in his opinion, for the horrible state of mutilation in which his barbarity had left him.

"The same narration, however, had produced a very different effect upon Valentino's bully. Any one, who had seen him at the moment, would have thought that every word she spoke carried away with it a portion of his life, so visibly did his countenance change: and when she fell lifeless on the pavement, he had nearly fallen on it himself.

"With tottering steps at length he descended the stairs, and cut with trembling hands the cords with which Pietraccio was bound: then fixing his eyes for a moment upon the chain which he had put on his own neck, said:

"A gentleman and lady," (Fieramosca and Ginevra, who had asked and obtained permission to come to the assistance of the wounded woman,) are coming just now to visit thee. They want to set thee at liberty, but it must not seem their doing. Be wary, and, while they are busy about the woman, take to the staircase, and be off, and beware of being caught; sentence of death is out against thee."

"Having uttered these words in extreme haste, as if the place were on fire, he threw a stealthy glance of disgust on the dead woman, left his poniard in the hands of Pietraccio, and was gone."

The scene then changes to the gorgeous cavalcade which issues from the fortress of Barletta to meet the daughter of the great captain, and give courteous and honourable reception to the Duke de Nemours. Donna Elvira is accompanied by her friend Vittoria Colonna, and the contrast is finely marked between the gay and somewhat frivolous Spanish beauty, and the noble and celebrated daughter of Fabrizio. Fieramosca, with his friends Inigo and Brancalone, is conspicuous among the flower of the Italian and Spanish youth. He is appointed equerry to his daughter by Gonsalvo, and clad in the rich cloak of blue satin embroidered with silver, the work and gift of

Ginevra and Zoraide, charms Donna Elvira by his grace and beauty. In honour of Gonsalvo's guests, jousts and a bull-fight are appointed, and a splendid banquet is in preparation; the whole described with that consummate skill and elaborate finish which betray in D'Azeglio the eye of the painter as well as the imagination of the poet. We are reminded, indeed, in this portion of the work both of *Ivanhoe* and *Kenilworth*. Zoraide is induced, by the reports brought by the gardener of the convent, to accompany him secretly to Barletta, in order to witness the proceedings of the day. As she mingles among the spectators, she finds herself in a position, not unlike that of the Jewess Rebecca, and is placed by Fanfulla much as the Jew's beautiful and high-minded daughter is by the Templar Bois Guilbert.

We must pass over the bull-fight, in which Diego Garcia gives ample proof of his surpassing strength; and the jousts, in which the French knights, in particular, show superior skill and address; but we must notice the particular attention paid by Brancalone to Graiano, Ginevra's husband, and, above all, the care with which he examines his armour. It is perfect, with the exception of the head-piece, which is comparatively weak. An explanation is asked for, and given. Graiano had received a wound in the head, which had never been completely healed, and could not, therefore, bear a heavier helmet. Brancalone keeps this steadily in mind.

While these events are taking place at Barletta, Ginevra, after having passed a restless night, rises, and takes her accustomed seat in the balcony, which commands a view of the fortress. She sees the smoke of the guns, hears the ringing of bells, and the distant sound of martial music; and is saddened by the contrast with her own desolation. She then seeks Zoraide, but finds her gone, and a thousand fears and suspicions rise up in her mind. At length she passes over the bridge, and walks slowly and sadly along the shore. Here she meets the robber captain Pietraccio, in whose escape, by Michele's contrivance, she had assisted. Worn out by fatigue and hunger, he throws himself, by dumb signs, upon her mercy, and is led by her to an out-house, where she binds up his wounds, gives him food, and some straw to lie upon, and returns to the island at the moment when Zoraide and the gardener come back. Their report fills her with bitter anguish. She hears at once of Donna Elvira's beauty, the apparent admiration of Fieramosca, and the re-appearance of her husband. In the extremity of her suffering, she again has recourse to religion.

' Behind the High altar a descent of eight or ten marble steps led to a subterranean chapel, where five silver lamps were burning day and night before a picture of the mother of God, painted on the wall, as every one

believed, by S. Luke himself. The miracles wrought in this place, as fame reported, caused the building of the church and convent. The chapel was in the shape of a hexagon, and on the side opposite the staircase was the altar and the picture. At each angle rose a pillar, its capital carved in large leaves after the antique manner, which supported one of the ribs of the vaulted roof; and these were joined together in the centre by a circular stone, resembling a mill-stone, having a hole in the middle about a yard in diameter covered with an iron grating, which, in the church, issued in front of the *Prie Dieu* at the High altar. A thin ray of sunlight, after passing through the painted glass of an upper window, found its way by this orifice to the subterranean chapel. The ray descended visibly through the darkness, which was scarcely dispelled by the red and feeble light of the lamps, forming a streak in the air, and reflecting on the pavement the colours of the glass and the form of the grating. As Ginevra went forward to kneel at the foot of the altar, she crossed this ray, and the light reflected from her dress brightened for a moment the whole interior of the chapel, like a pale flash of lightning.

'She began to pray with her hands pressed tightly against her bosom, and her eyes fixed stedfastly on the picture, till by degrees her pulse beat less strongly, and the throbbing of her heart was calmed. Her prayers were not formed into distinct words, but rather conceived in the feelings and affections, but they restored her by degrees to composure.

'Like all the old paintings, there was in the countenance of this Madonna a divine and august sadness, which seemed to the miserable young woman to express pity for her sorrow. As she fixed her eye on it more intently, she could even fancy something life-like in the glance, which filled her with holy terror, and yet, in some degree, with comfort. "Holy and glorious Virgin!" she exclaimed at length, "Who am I, that I should deserve thy pity? And yet, who will help me, if thou dost not? Behold, I lay my sorrows at thy feet: thou seest that I cannot stand out against this trial, that I am not able to overcome it: Oh, merciful Virgin, strengthen my heart to do what I would!" And in this posture she continued for a length of time, her eyes still fixed on the picture, and her cheeks and bosom bathed in floods of tears; putting herself as it were under *her* protection, who is willing to be called the mother and comforter of the afflicted: and felt by her own experience, that when everything, even hope, is lost on earth, the heart may turn to heaven and be comforted.

'Then came back to her memory all the events of her past life, the innocent joys of infancy, the affections of youth, the first words of love that she had heard, the first remorse that she had felt, and then all the pains and sorrows that had come upon her after her marriage. She thought what these last years had been,—a constant vicissitude of few joys, and those anything but pure and lasting, much bitterness, and pungent remorse. And now, to crown all, as if she were waking from a long dream, she saw even the certainty, which she had ever cherished, that Ettore could not change, pass away. And when, shaken by these repeated blows, and wishing, but in vain, to follow the audible voice of God, it seemed impossible to resolve, the Divine will spoke out more loudly still, and she was placed as it were by force in the right path by the unexpected recovery of her husband. "Every doubt," she thought, "is now removed. As long as I could believe that he no longer existed, I might have some excuse, but now, wretch as I am, can I go on thus?"

'Here a new and unexpected obstacle arose. "But when I appear before him, and he asks me, where I have been all this time, what shall I say?"

'It was not easy to find an answer. Struck by this idea, it seemed to

her quite impossible to meet the eye of her judge, and she was half tempted to lay aside her project, and try to issue from the labyrinth by another way. But the more she thought of it, the more she felt convinced that the step which caused her so much repugnance, was the only one that she could take; and she said to herself: "Of whom can I complain? Of myself. If I had acted otherwise, and as I should have done, I should not have tasted this bitter humiliation; and the longer it is put off, the bitterer it will be."

"Ginevra's soul was firmly tempered, and therefore opposed to any long irresolution, and she said courageously: "Can I bear always such remorse as this? No: Can I give up the hopes, and extinguish the terrors, of another life? No: Then let me do my duty, and care for nothing else. Let the anguish that I am going to encounter, expiate my errors. And thou, Divine mother, wilt have pity upon me both in this world and the next. If Graiano will not pardon me, what is the worst that he can do? Kill me! My immortal soul will fly to God, offer the fruits of penitence, and merit mercy and pardon."

"After one last fervent prayer she reascended to the church with a quick and firm step, as if to give herself more courage, and went to shut herself in her room, to think in what way she should carry her design into execution. She sat, as was her wont, on the balcony which looked towards Bartolotta, and began to think. She could not imagine any day more easy than the present in which to rejoin her husband, being sure to find him at the festivities at the castle, whither in half an hour she might without any obstacle be conducted by sea. If, on the contrary, she were to wait till he had returned to the French camp, the difficulties would be redoubled. "Therefore," she said, "this is no time for doubting. Before to-morrow I must be with him . . . But how must I manage with Ettore? He will certainly not come here to-day. Must I wait? I cannot leave the island and forsake him, without even letting him know what is become of me. I owe it to him that I am even now alive." But here a thought sprang up worthy of a soul like hers. "If in leaving him," she said to herself, "I let him know what I feel for him at this pass, I know too well he will never have a moment's peace more; if, on the contrary, I go without giving any reason, he will think me ungrateful; wretched creature that I am, the remembrance of me will soon be erased from his heart . . ." She could not bear the thought, and said with a sigh:—

"My sins are great, but my punishment is horrible."

"With the unquiet haste, which is the result of strong mental agitation, she arose, wiped her eyes with the back of her hand, and set herself to collect together the few things that she thought of carrying with her. In searching a box, some remnants of Fieramosca's blue cloak, and of the silver thread with which it was embroidered, came into her hands; and the reader may conceive what she felt at the sight."

"Her first impulse was to fold them up and carry them with her; but she soon left them where she found them, saying to herself: "No. . . all thought of him must be laid aside for ever: I must be satisfied here below with knowing that it is by my means that he is happy."

"She wrote a few lines to the abbess to thank her for her hospitality, recommended her friend to her protection, stated that an urgent motive obliged her to depart without taking leave, and that she hoped soon to be in a situation to explain herself more fully."

"This last duty fulfilled, there was no more to be done in the convent, but she would not depart till the evening. An hour of daylight still remained, and she seated herself once more at the balcony to wait patiently for the night. At such a moment, she could not have chosen a

more painful way of passing the time. If she turned her looks to the interior of the chamber, the sight of the little packet which lay on the table, and was to be the companion of her mournful journey, reminded her beforehand of its sufferings. If she cast her eyes on the bed, re-made as usual by a lay sister, she reflected that she had slept on it the night before for the last time, and God alone knew where she should sleep the night that was coming. Outside the balcony it was still worse. There was the tract of sea which separated her from the fortress of Barletta, and she remembered how often with straining eyes she had descried, like a dark spot upon the waters, the boat rowed by Fieramosca. And now, *she* had to pass over the same space, to go she knew not whither.

From his hiding place, Pietraccio, the robber chief, overhears a conversation between Boscherino and his accomplice, in which the projected attack upon Ginevra is arranged, and discovers that their employer is Cæsar Borgia. He determines if possible to frustrate the plan, and revenge himself at the same time upon Valentino; and, having escaped from the island, makes his way in all haste to Barletta. Meanwhile the preparations for a splendid banquet are going on at the fortress, and a scene of much comic effect is given, in which, as at the bull fight, Don Diego Garcia cuts a very distinguished figure. The company then return from the Tournament, and take their place at the table. Fieramosca is still in close attendance on Donna Elvira, who behaves to him with distinguished courtesy, and, mistaking the cause of his silence and abstraction, believes that she has made an impression on his heart. A theatrical representation follows, which is succeeded by a ball. Donna Elvira dances with Fieramosca, for whom her inclination is sufficiently shewn to excite his own regret, and the jealousy of the bold and reckless Fanfulla. The latter feeling is increased by a whisper which he overhears, that, when the dance is over, Elvira would speak with Ettore on the terrace. Fieramosca, however, fully engrossed by his love for Ginevra, is far too noble to trifle with the affections of another, and, the dance ended, feigns a headache and retires. He is about to put on his cloak, which he had laid aside for the ball, when he feels a gentle tap on the shoulder, and the next moment a paper pellet falls at his feet. It contains these words, in a vulgar and almost unintelligible hand, 'Madonna Ginevra is to be carried off from St. Ursula, by order of Duke Valentino, when the clock strikes three. He, who gives you this warning, is waiting for you with three companions at the great gate of the castle, and will have a javelin in his hand.' Ettore rushes without cap or cloak to the place appointed, and is followed by Inigo and Brancalone. They seize a boat, and with Pietraccio and his three companions put off to sea. They strain every nerve to reach the island in time, but, before they have passed the clock tower of the fortress, the fatal hour sounds.

Fanfulla, in the meantime, is seeking his revenge. He puts on the cap and cloak, which Fieramosca in his haste had left behind, steps out upon the moon-lit terrace, and sees Elvira sitting in a pensive attitude with her elbow resting on the balcony. He seizes the moment when a cloud is passing over the moon to drop on one knee, take her hand, and cover it with kisses. Suddenly, however, the brightness returns, the glittering dresses of Elvira and Fanfulla are distinctly seen, and, startled by a piercing female shriek, which seems to rise from the foot of the balcony, they return by separate ways to the saloon. Another shriek follows, but more feeble, and as if it died away in the throat that uttered it. Then might have been heard the dead weight of a human body falling to the bottom of a boat, but the balcony was now deserted, and there was no one to hear or help.

Ettore and his companions row on with all speed towards the island. On their way they descry a boat at a short distance, but see as they are turning towards it, that it only contains a single person, who is proceeding slowly in the direction of Barletta. Inigo, notwithstanding, would have hailed this boat in order to gain information, but the appointed time was past, and Ettore hurried on. The boat contained Ginevra.

At length, as the convent of S. Ursula grows upon them, a long boat, lying low in the water, and shooting forward like a swallow, is visible at the distance of two musket shots. The combat then begins, and after a sharp contest, victory, such as it is, decides for Fieramosca and his companions. The lady is rescued, but it is Zoraide, who has been carried off by mistake instead of Ginevra, who had already departed. Michele returns to Barletta to tell Valentino of his supposed ill success, taking with him Pietraccio, who had been stunned by the blow of an oar at the beginning of the fray, and had fallen into the enemy's boat; while Fieramosca, wounded by a poisoned dagger in the hand of Valentino's emissary, goes on to the convent, where he not only suffers the anguish occasioned by the loss of Ginevra, but also by that of his honour, all hope of his being able to combat at Barletta seeming now at an end.

We return to the secret apartments of Valentino in the fortress. His negotiation with Gonsalvo had failed, but his designs on Ginevra were near their completion. That business over, he had made up his mind to depart. We introduce him at the moment when a letter has just been received from the Pope, in which the murderous designs of the infamous Alexander are detailed, and a small golden ball enclosed, containing the Host, consecrated by his own apostolical hands, as a safeguard against impending danger.

'He thought within himself that Don Michele and his men must soon return; and putting the golden ball into his bosom, with the careless air of one who says, "what will come, must come," he began to arrange his papers and such other things as he meant to take with him.

'In a few minutes every thing was in order; and, as he sat down again, not knowing what to do, he drew the ball from his bosom, began to look at and examine it, let it fall from one hand into another, and thought of the sacrament which it contained, and of him who had sent it. Then, passing on from one idea to another he came to the religion of which that man was the head; the articles of faith which he himself had once believed; the splendid position which, thanks to the subjection of the people to pontifical authority, he enjoyed; and, after having ridiculed in his heart the credulity of the multitude, he thought, "I at least turn it to good account in spite of every thing." But then, a still small voice, which issued from beneath this edifice of pride, violence, and irreligion, whispered. "And suppose it should be true?"

'The Duke would not listen to it, but it would not be silenced. He got up in anger, paced the room, and did what he could to distract his attention. All was in vain. "Suppose it should be true?" trod upon his heels, pestered him, and took from him, if one may venture to say it, all taste for the honours, power, and advantages which he possessed. He threw himself on the bed, buried his face furiously in the pillows, called himself a fool and madman, and by degrees grew calmer. His eyes at length were heavy, he closed them, and slept.

'But in sleep the course of his ideas continuing the same, he seemed to be at Rome, in the street which leads from Castello to St. Peter's. Heaven and earth were turned upside down. All was different, all was full of darkness and lamentation. He strove to press forward to take refuge in St. Peter's, but he could not, and panted under his painful efforts. He felt himself held back, and looked around him. There were all those whom he had betrayed, stabbed, poisoned; and they held him by the hair of his head, and even by the flesh of his body, with a long and desperate cry.

'Then, without knowing how, he was in St. Peter's, an unspeakable chaos all around him, dark, full of lamentations, amidst the shaking of walls, the opening of tombs, the wandering of spectres, and he, still torn and jeered at by his victims, as they cried aloud "God's justice!" "This then," he thought, "is the judgment that I would not believe in."

'And then he struggled desperately to rush forward, and seek refuge near the pope, whom he saw in the distance on his throne, surrounded by a pale and feeble light. But on one side, his brother, the Duke of Candia, held him back, and from his wound instead of blood a putrid moisture distilled, and his form was swollen and foul, like that of a carcase long sweltering beneath the water; on the other, the Duke of Biselli, and Astorre Manfredi, and women, and children, all weeping, and holding out their hands to the pope, and crying, "Justice and vengeance!" The pope was wrapped in a large black cope, with the tiara on his head. The fat, flabby countenance of Alexander VI. was as yellow as a corpse. He raised himself slowly and gradually, as if he were about to stand up; and the shrieks and lamentations were drowned by a burst of infernal laughter from the pontiff's mouth as he uttered the words, "Christ, faith, popes—all imposture," and the last word sounded beneath the vaulted roof of the church like a protracted howl.

'The Duke's ears still rang with it, though his eyes were open, and he was seated on the bed awake.

'For a moment he felt terrified, but upon the whole the dream confirmed his wicked opinion that he might commit any crime without fear of punishment in another life.'

He is comforting himself with the thought, and listening to the indistinct hum of the crowds in the rooms above, and the sounds of music and cries of merriment, which come down to the apartments on the ground floor weakened by the thickness of the vaulted roofs, when he hears the same shriek which had startled Donna Elvira and Fanfulla. To him, however, it sounds much nearer, and as if it came from behind the outer door, which opens upon a level of dry sand, between the sea and the foundations of the castle. He goes out to reconnoitre, but finds only an empty boat, the prow of which has made a furrow in the sand, and remains firmly fixed on the shore. No one appears either on the terrace or at the windows, and Valentino is on the point of returning, when he is prompted by curiosity to look first into the boat. A woman is lying at full length at the bottom, her face hid in her hands, and uttering from time to time sounds of lamentation. After the first moment of surprise, he lifts her up in his arms, carries her half dead as she is into the chamber, and lays her on the bed. He then brings a light to examine the countenance, and, to his utter astonishment recognises Ginevra. The face is too deeply impressed in his mind ever to be mistaken, but he cannot understand by what strange accident she has thus fallen alone into his hands, after having, as it should seem, escaped Don Michele. He agrees, however, henceforth to believe at least that there is a devil, since he could not have been served so effectually, unless the devil were his friend.

We shrink from translating, or even describing, the scene which follows. It is, perhaps, as powerful as any in the whole work, but it is very painful, and, we think, even revolting. Pollution should not have been suffered to approach Ginevra, though that pollution is involuntary. We have always thought this a defect in Richardson's magnificent composition. The heart suffers a painful revulsion when the purity of a Clarissa, or a Ginevra, is stained, though the stain is unaccompanied with even the shadow of guilt. And we see no necessity for wounding thus cruelly the moral sense of the reader. The catastrophe in both cases might surely have been so managed, that the victims might have gone down to the grave as pure in body as they were spotless in soul. We give the conclusion of the chapter, when, the crime having been perpetrated, Ginevra is borne back to her boat in a state of insensibility, and Valentino with Michele and the rest of his myrmidons have left the fortress behind them.

'The Duke sat at the stern, Michele standing before him. He knew now why his master cared so little for his late discomfiture, but he still persisted in telling the reason of his returning empty handed, describing

minutely how it happened, and how, assailed by superior numbers, they could with difficulty defend themselves, while the woman was taken from them.

"It went ill, however, with one of them," he added, pointing behind him to Pietraccio, who, as we have seen, had been struck by an oar on the head, and falling down stunned in the boat, had remained a prisoner. He had now, however, recovered, and was seated about two arms length from the Duke; but believing him to be more dead than alive, or at least unable to escape from their hands, they had let him alone.

"This ruffian," pursued Don Michele, "leapt into our boat like a fury, but Rosso gave him a knock on the head which floored him. I thought he was dead, but I see he is coming to life again."

Some words in Don Michele's relation had satisfied Pietraccio that he was in the presence of the man whom he had been searching for that evening in vain. Valentino perceived that the wounded robber looked at him doggedly, and with a countenance which portended mischief, and was on the point of ordering him to be thrown to the fishes. Don Michele also, who if the reader recollects, had heard in the dungeon of St. Ursula the last words of the assassin's mother, and her charge that he should seek to revenge himself upon Cæsar Borgia, was well aware, as he stealthily observed him, that he was about to attempt some desperate act. But though he served the Duke because he made a good thing of it, he would not have been sorry to make him pay for an old grudge if he could do it without compromising himself. The reader may imagine his feeling towards his master, when he is told that the woman who died in the tower in Don Michele's presence was his own wife. * * *

The opportunity seemed now to present itself, and all things to favour his design. In fact, the last words uttered by Don Michele were succeeded by a momentary silence, which gave the young man time to execute his desperate purpose. He arose from the place where he was sitting, and passing Don Michele, who pretended to stop him, but let him escape from his hands, rushed upon Valentino like a furious wild beast, thinking to tear him in pieces with his teeth and nails. The Duke however was on his guard and ready to receive him, and Don Michele had scarcely time to seize Pietraccio by the shoulder before he fell dead from his hand, transfixed by the poniard which the Duke wore at his girdle, and of which he contrived to make use at the moment with incredible swiftness.

The thing was done so instantaneously that all was over before the rowers had turned round at the noise, and while they were yet in suspense, they saw Valentino replace the dagger in its sheath, and heard him give orders, as he kicked the still palpitating body from him, that it should be thrown into the sea.

"Madman! ruffian!" exclaimed Don Michele, pretending both alarm and regret at the danger which the Duke had run. "Nobody, however, shall persuade me that he was not a different man from what he seemed . . . I met with him a few days since in the dungeon of the convent, where he was shut up with his mother, both having been taken prisoners by the police in company with a band of ruffians. The mother died of the wounds she had received in defending herself, and before she breathed her last, gave her son a necklace, telling him some tale which I forget—Oh! now I recollect—telling him that she had it from a lover of hers at Pisa.—Stop, Rosso, before he is thrown into the sea let me see if it is still round his neck. The gold at least had better not go to feed the fishes."

As he said this he opened the young man's doublet and found the chain, which he took in his hands and showed the Duke, who was listening to him with deep attention.

'Valentino had not sufficient self-command to hide the sudden emotion which the sight of the necklace occasioned. He remained for a moment deep in thought, and his hands, which had laid hold of the jewel attached to the chain, fell down upon his thighs as if all their strength was gone. Then, resuming his former seat, with a broken voice he gave orders a second time that the body should be thrown into the sea. As he turned his head away, he knew that he was promptly obeyed, by the heavy plunge which he heard in the water, and the spray which dashed into the boat. He then threw the chain to a distance, and resting his head upon one of his hands, was silent.

'Don Michele, pretending to respect the thoughts which occupied the Duke, retired and took his place among the rowers, and all was still, no sound being heard but the light dripping of the oars, as they were lifted up from the sea. Valentino's bully had taken such a revenge upon this extraordinary man, as no one perhaps had ever done before. He had awakened recollections in his heart almost akin to remorse, but it was that remorse which is without hope or consolation, and which resembles the despair of hell. It was a great triumph for Don Michele; and he knew how to appreciate its worth, and taste it fully.'

The ball is not yet over, when Brancalone and Inigo return, enquire for Gonsalvo, and relate to him the events of the evening. Gonsalvo knows Valentino to be capable of any villainy, and leads them to the secret apartments which he had recently occupied. They are found deserted and in the utmost disorder. Inigo then steps out upon the platform to see if any vessel can be descried in the distance, observes the boat, and finds Ginevra in a state of insensibility where Valentino had left her. We must give the scene which ensues without curtailment, for it is certainly the very finest in the book, and may well bear a comparison with the noble scene of the chapel in Niccolò de' Lapi. It may, perhaps, contain less of moral grandeur, but it has more of tenderness and human pathos, mixed up, notwithstanding, with all that is most deep and holy in Christian feeling.

'They bore her as carefully and tenderly as they could to the Duke's bed, which they found in strange confusion, but re-arranged it as well as the time permitted, while Gonsalvo, full of pity for the unfortunate young woman, who was all over bruises, her face scratched, her hair torn and dishevelled, and even spots of blood visible here and there, went up in haste to procure for her some female attendance. Unwilling to reveal what had taken place, quite in the dark as he still was, he thought of Vittoria Colonna, whose matured prudence was well known to him. Having entered the ball room therefore, and found the daughter of Fabrizio, he led her quietly to Ginevra's bed, telling her as they went along what had happened, and how much her kindness was needed in this emergency for the unhappy stranger. The noble heart of Vittoria Colonna accepted the office with eagerness and gratitude; and when she reached the young woman's bed, and had looked for a moment at her countenance, she set herself to adjust the bed, arranged the pillows better, and laid her on them more comfortably, with the anxious and sagacious pity which providence has bestowed in an especial manner upon women as the dispensers of his consolation to the afflicted.

'Ginevra was in a kind of lethargy, into which she had been thrown by

her sufferings, a total prostration of strength. Where they placed her she remained. If they moved her arm or her head, she let it be, and appeared perfectly unconscious. Her eyes were open, as in their natural state, but quite dead, and she turned them around without any consciousness. Vittoria saw that there was no time to be lost, and dismissing the men, sent for some of her women, who brought essences and cordials, and succeeded in a short time in reawakening that life in Ginevra which appeared nearly extinct.

"The first sign which she gave of having recovered the use of her senses was to look round for a moment in terror, and then throw herself impetuously from the bed, and attempt to fly; but her weakness was such that she would have fallen to the ground, if Vittoria had not caught her in her arms, and replaced her with gentle violence upon the bed.

"*"Oh God!"* said Ginevra then, "are you too in league with him? You seem a gentle lady; you are young and beautiful; will not even you have pity upon me?"

"*"On the contrary,"* replied Vittoria, as she took her hand and pressed it to her lips, "we, and all who are in the fortress, are at your service, either to help or defend you. For the love of Heaven be composed, for you have no more to fear from any one."

"*"Well, then, if it is so,"* said Ginevra, putting her feet again out of bed, "let me, let me go."

"Vittoria believing this desire to fly to be only aberration of mind, and seeing her at the same time so weak and disfigured, would have persuaded her with many kind expressions to have a few moments patience; but her horror of that place almost amounted to madness, which obstacles only tended to inflame, and she continued her efforts, saying with tears—

"*"Lady! for the love of God and the most Holy Virgin, I only ask to be taken from this bed. Throw me into the sea, into the fire, but take me from this bed. I shall not trouble you much—a mouthful of water—for my inside is on fire—and let me speak four words to Fra Mariano of San Dominico.—But let us go—let me go."*

"And so saying, she raised herself from the bed. Vittoria, seeing her thus resolved, offered no more opposition; and she and her women, not however without great difficulty, for she was utterly helpless, carried her up stairs and lodged her in a remote chamber, where Gonsalvo had a rude pallet hastily constructed, upon which, when she was undressed, she lay down, saying with a sigh—

"*"Lady, God, who knows all things, knows that I pray to Him from my very heart to reward you for all your kindness to me. Virgin, I thank thee! And you, Lady, through whose means, I shall at least not die in despair. . . I only beg you to make haste and send for Fra Mariano. . . Tell me what is the hour. . . Is it day or night? I no longer know in what world I am?"*

"*"It is the fifth hour of the night,"* replied Vittoria, "and Fra Mariano shall be sent for, but the terror which you have upon you, makes you fear more than you need: compose yourself, be tranquil, my dear young lady, you are here in a place of safety; I will not leave you."

"*"Oh no, do not leave me! If you only knew how your compassionate looks refresh my heart! Sit here, upon the bed: see, I turn a little towards the wall. . . no, no, do not be afraid of being in my way. . . I am better so." . . And then, after a few moments of apparent stupefaction, she was seized with a shuddering horror, and cried out as if quite beside herself: "If you only knew how terrible it was! . . . to be buried alive. . . stifled under a heap of dead bodies. . . to see around me those ghastly faces of the dead. . . full of horrible putridity. . . and then, their ghastly laughter! . . . Oh God! Oh God! I seem to see them still."*

"And, as she said these words, she clung closer to her protectress, who

knew that it was in vain to talk to her while her mind thus wandered, and therefore only embraced, and with the kindest caresses tried to soothe her.

"Oh Lady!" pursued Ginevra, hiding her head in her bosom, "I do not know what I am saying: I see that I am talking foolishly, but I have been cruelly, oh! too cruelly treated! . . . And I did not deserve it! What, what had I done to him that he should use me thus? . . . And the most Holy Virgin had promised to lead me to a place of safety! . . . I had prayed to her so sincerely, so fervently, from my very heart! . . . And then to forsake me! . . . It is true I have been a wretched creature. . . but more unfortunate than guilty. . . Oh, yes! much more! For I know the feelings of my heart. . . and what I have suffered no one knows but myself."

"Yes, dear one, I believe it," replied Vittoria, "but compose yourself, and do not say that the Virgin has forsaken you: Do you not see that she has sent me to wipe away your tears and restore you to peace? See, I am with you, I will not leave you; do not fear that I will abandon you. But if your case requires other help, if he that has outraged you is to be punished, if there is any evil to be remedied, speak. . . trust to me. . . Fabrizio Colonna, my father. . . Gonsalvo. . . all in short are ready. . ."

"Ah, Lady!" interrupted Ginevra, "all the world together could not make me feel a moment's happiness, nor take one drop from my cup of misery. In this world all is over. . . Still I thank you; Oh yes! I thank you: for I owe to you the last consolation I shall ever feel. . . Think me not ungrateful then, if I do not tell you what I have suffered. . . It is impossible. . . It cannot be told. . . And though I do not accept your offers. . . May God reward you! He can. . . I can only thank you. . . and kiss those dear hands, which will hold my head at the last hour, and close my eyes. . . Promise that you will not leave me till I am quite dead and cold. . ."

Vittoria would have turned her from such sad thoughts, and persuaded her that her life was in no danger; but Ginevra would not suffer her to go on.

"No, no, Lady! it is all in vain; I know what has happened, and I know how I feel. . . Do not, my blessed angel, deny me this last favour! you will not? . . . you see, I avail myself of your kindness: you cannot call me either proud or ungrateful. . . you will promise then?"

"Yes, yes, dear one, I promise, if it must be so."

"Oh! then I am better satisfied: now send for Father Mariano, and then all is over here. . . give me another mouthful of water, for my heart is like a burning coal. . . If this light which dazzles me could be taken away! . . . Pardon the trouble that I am giving you, it is but for a short time."

Having rendered her these trifling services, Vittoria seated herself upon the bed, and, not long after, Inigo, who had gone to call up Fra Mariano, made his appearance at the entrance, and asked if the Priest might come in. "Let him come, let him come," said Ginevra; and there appeared at the door a monk of tall stature, whose pale and subdued countenance was half shaded by his cowl. He approached the bed, saying: "Christ protect you, Lady." Every one else then left the room, and Ginevra and the Priest were alone.

The very look of this monk, and still more his manner, full as it was of that ardent charity which springs from the Divine and august mission of alleviating human misery, indicated at first sight that all worldly aims, all earthly affections, had long been trodden under his feet.

When he had sat down at the young woman's pillow, he gave her his blessing, and asked if she wished to confess.

"Oh yes! Father," replied Ginevra, "I have no other desire in the world; and if I had not felt strength and life failing me, I should not have troubled you to come to me at this hour, but my time is short: Let us not therefore lose time, but let me die in the grace of my Lord God and the Holy Roman Church."

"Life and death are in the hands of God," replied Fra Mariano, "and His will must be done: Do what you can on your part, and doubt not that He will help you."

And, having made the sign of the cross, and the usual prayers, he called upon Ginevra to speak.

In order to lay open the inmost recesses of her heart, she was obliged to take up the history of her life from the beginning, to tell of her ill-omened marriage, her supposed death, and her subsequent wanderings from land to land. Her speech was often interrupted by faintness, and sometimes unconnected, because her brain could ill bear the painful task.

"Father!" said Ginevra at length, "I have been it is true many years near one who was not my husband, but my only fault has been exposing myself to the danger of doing ill. God, and He alone, has kept me safe. I have been negligent in seeking my husband, and finding out if he were really dead. . . Then at last I found him, and determined immediately to return to him. . . and went. . . and with the help of the Virgin I hoped to reach him safely. . . but, oh God! instead of this, into what hands did I fall?"

And here she told Fra Mariano how, as she drew near the fortress, she saw the close conversation of Ettore and Donna Elvira, and overcome by grief fell senseless into the boat, and did not recover her recollection till she found herself in the chamber of Valentino. Then, the whole cruel occurrence having been told to the end, she burst into a convulsive and desperate passion of tears, mingled with unconnected words, which denoted but too clearly the nascent aberration of her mind.

Touched to the very bottom of his heart, the good monk, with that discretion which the importance of the case required, used all the means in his power to bring her back to composure, and, after a long time, partly succeeded, when nature, wearied with the paroxysm, had left her more spent and exhausted than before.

"Father!" continued Ginevra in a feeble voice, "is it then possible that God, that the Virgin, can have rejected my tears, cursed my grief? The vengeance of God has fallen upon my head like a thunder-bolt, when He seemed to promise me pity. . . the chastisement of my sins has been terrible already. . . but I fear another still more tremendous. . . I feel that I shall die despairing of pardon. . . I feel that God is hardening my heart in these last moments of my life. . . I am going, and yet I can neither forget that man. . . nor pardon her. . . oh! pray for me! help me! While it is yet time, speak to me of hope!"

"Hope!" interrupted the monk, "do you not know that He, who sends me, purchased your salvation by the death of the cross; that He promises you mercy, and would promise it, if you were weighed down with the sins of the whole world? Be not so unjust to such love as this by despairing of pardon. And what does he require of you in order to deserve it, and merit the crown of glory and blessedness which will never fade? To love Him as He has loved you: to suffer a little for the love of Him, as He has suffered (and oh, how much!) for the love of you: to pardon him who has injured you, as He pardoned jeerings, stripes, outrages and death. See Him in Heaven waiting for your arrival, longing to receive you in his arms, dry your tears, and turn them into immeasurable joy! The enemy, who thought you were his own, cannot bear that you should

escape from his hands: he is trying every way to have you again: he wants to rob you of hope, but he shall not succeed. I, the minister of the Eternal," and here he stood up, and held his hands solemnly over Ginevra's head, "swear to you by His Holy Name that you are pardoned, and your eternal salvation written in His eternal book, if you can only purchase so great a reward by one single act of love. May the Divine Blood of the Lamb descend upon your soul like celestial dew, wash away all its stains; infuse into it peace, joy, grief for having ever offended Him who shed it for you; and give you strength to repel, and despise, the assaults of the enemy who seeks your ruin."

"Oh, Father!" said Ginevra, full of veneration for the words she had heard, "God speaks by your mouth. I may then hope, and I am not utterly forsaken!"

"No, happy soul! far from it. On the contrary, the harder the conflict, the more glorious the palm. But now that God gives you both grace and time to know your sins and His mercies, you must not turn back. Remember what he says: 'It had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than, after they have known it, to turn from the holy commandment delivered unto them.' 'No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.' You say you cannot tear that man from your heart? See where you had fixed your hopes; from whom you looked for comfort and happiness; for whom you despised the love of your God! One, who has not even kept the worldly and sinful faith which he had pledged to you, whom a mere breath has turned towards another, and who cares for you no longer. It is thus that the world keeps its promises! And yet, for its sake, you despise the unfailing promises of the Eternal! And, when he makes you touch, and feel, and handle, the vanity of your desires, instead of falling prostrate before this miracle of Divine goodness, you almost feel indignant! Cannot you pardon *her*? And in what has she offended you? In the first place, she does not even know you. Then, she is free, and may give way to such thoughts without a crime. Oh! you ought rather to love her, and adore in her the instrument employed by the hand of God for your salvation. I too am a sinner: I too have been so unhappy as to seek for peace of heart in the creature. But God called me; and I followed Him; at first in bitterness of soul; but afterwards, what a rich recompense did I receive from the Divine goodness for the trifling sacrifice! Oh! the tranquil pleasure of loving, with the certainty of an infinite and eternal return. Believe me, blessed soul! me, who am a greater sinner than yourself, and know it by my own experience; all is bitterness, darkness, and uncertainty, except the love and service of God, and the sure hope of His mercy."

"Oh yes!" said Ginevra, interrupting him, and bursting into a flood of tears, you have enlightened my mind, and have conquered: Yes, I forgive her, and with all my heart, and I am ready to prove it. Let her come here: let me see her before I die, and embrace her: and may they live happily together, as I hope for happiness myself in the life to come!"

The monk fell on his knees by the bed, and, raising his hands and eyes to heaven, said: "*Variis et miris modis vocat nos Deus!* Let us adore His work of mercy."

And, having remained a moment longer in prayer, he arose, blessed the young woman, gave her absolution, and then resumed:

"And are you really resolved to see her, and do this work worthy of Paradise?"

"Yes, Father; let her come; I feel that I must die in the act of pardon."

"And, I say it in His own name, God has already pardoned *you*: you are *His*: this holy resolution is the pledge of your salvation."

"The monk was going for Donna Elvira, when Ginevra called him back. "I have one favour," she said, "still to ask of you, and, if you would have me die in peace, you must not deny me. When I am no more, go to the French camp, find out my husband, (the soldiers call him Graiano d'Asti, and he is in the pay of the Duke de Nemours,) and tell him that I asked pardon of God at my last hour, as I ask it of him, if I have ever offended him; tell him that, dying as I am, I swear that my soul departs this life as pure, as when he received me from my father. Let him not curse my memory, and let him have a mass said for my soul."

"Bless you! . . . Be satisfied, your wish shall be complied with."

"One more favour I would ask you," pursued Ginevra . . . "I scarcely know whether it is right or wrong . . . but God, who sees my heart, knows that I speak with a good intent. . . . I would have you also find out *him*. . . . Ettore Fieramosca I mean, a lancer of Signor Prospero . . . tell him that I will pray for him, and that I forgive him . . . that is . . . no, do not say anything about forgiveness . . . and indeed I am not quite sure . . . it might have been somebody like him . . . no, no, only tell him to think of his soul. . . . I did not know how wrong we were . . . let him think of another life, for this passes away like smoke . . . *she* says it, who is at the proof, and wishes him . . . and let him think of his true happiness. And then tell him that if God, as I hope He will, receives me to His mercy, I will pray that he may conquer in the combat, and that the honour of the Italian arms may be supported."

Fra Mariano sighed and said: "I will do this also."

The dying woman was then for some time silent, and Zoraide, her charge, came into her mind, with whom during the last few days there had been some coolness. At length, she begged the monk to go to her in the convent of St. Ursula, and carry her a ring of hers with a last farewell, asking her to wear it for her sake. She recommended this poor outcast to his care, begging him to find her an honourable retreat, and above all try to make her a Christian. After which she added:

"I ask, moreover, one last kindness, and I am sure you will grant it. Have me buried in the subterranean chapel of St. Ursula, dressed in the habit of the convent. It is a comfort to think that I shall sleep in peace near the image of that Virgin, who at length has listened to my prayers, and put an end to my misery."

"Well," said Fra Mariano, who could with difficulty restrain his tears, "your will shall be obeyed in all things."

This said, he went out, and, bringing back Vittoria Colonna, spoke to her himself, in order to spare Ginevra, whose breath was rapidly failing:

"Lady, I pray you to seek Donna Elvira, and bring her here. This poor young woman would say one or two words to her."

Vittoria, who did not expect this, remained a moment in suspense, and then went without any reply, while Ginevra said:

"Pardon me the trouble I am giving you, but there is no time to be lost."

It was nearly the fourth hour of the night, and the ball had been over but a few moments: the apartments were beginning to be emptied however; and the guests, accompanied by the Spanish nobles, were filing off down the great staircase. * * * *

Vittoria in the meantime * * reached the chamber, to which Donna Elvira had retired, and was beginning to take off her ornaments and divest herself of her splendid dress. She was assisted in this occupation by two attendants, whose services, to judge by the petulant manner in which she treated them, did not seem to be very acceptable. She was heated, flushed, and, in appearance, anything but satisfied with her evening's amusement.

When she saw Vittoria enter, an inward misgiving, produced it may be by secret self-reproach, suggested the thought that her friend was about to speak to her in a tone, which at that moment she could ill brook. Under this idea, she received her with an appearance of surprise, which did not entirely conceal her impatience. Vittoria perceived it, but without giving any sign that she did so, begged her with great sweetness to put off going to bed for a quarter of an hour for her sake, and go with her to Ginevra who had asked to see her. She was in consequence obliged to explain how Ginevra came to be there; and the daughter of Gonsalvo, who like giddy people in general, had a good heart at the bottom, was willing to go, so much the more as she saw things taking a better turn than she expected.

They came therefore together to Ginevra's chamber, and having entered, drew near the bed. The beauty of Donna Elvira had not shone forth so conspicuously, when her dress was more studiously arranged, as now that she appeared in disorder, with her long golden tresses floating loose over her neck and shoulders. Fra Mariano cast down his eyes, and poor Ginevra, when she saw her, felt an inward shudder, and uttered a sigh, which the good monk could not help pitying. The three young women were silent for some minutes, when Ginevra, raising herself upon her elbow, said:

"Lady! you will be surprised at my boldness in disturbing you, since I neither know you, nor am known to you: but everything is excusable in one who is in my condition. Before however I speak more openly, I must ask your leave: May I then say two words to you freely? Your answer, whatever it may be, will soon be buried with me in the grave. But may I speak to you in the presence of this lady, or would you wish it to be alone?"

"Oh!" said Donna Elvira, "this is the dearest friend I have, and she loves me much more than I deserve; speak freely, therefore, my dear lady, for I am here to listen to you."

"Since it is so, and you give me leave, the only question I would ask is. . ."

But here, as if to gain strength, and prepare the phrase which she did not know how to begin, she made a moment's pause. The resolution of forgiving her, who had been the occasion of such bitter grief, had been made in all sincerity of heart; but who could be so severe as to think it a crime, if at the moment of ascertaining that her eyes had not deceived her, and that it was indeed Ettore whom she had seen at the feet of Donna Elvira, the unhappy young woman felt an invincible repugnance? Who would have the heart to condemn her if she still cherished an undefined hope that she had been mistaken, and that Ettore was still the same?

However that may be, we must confess our belief that these sentiments were not entirely extinct, and that they caused the slight hesitation which led to that moment's silence.

At length, however, she said firmly, and in a clearer and more distinct voice:

"Tell me then, and pardon me for asking so much . . . were you not this evening on the balcony which looks towards the sea, about the third hour of the night, and was not Ettore Fieramosca at your feet?"

This interrogation, which was equally unexpected and direct, affected both the young women deeply, though in a different manner. Donna Elvira's face was as red as burning coal; and she could not utter a syllable, Ginevra, who was looking her stedfastly in the face, understood the whole. Her blood froze in her veins, and she resumed in an altered tone:

"Lady! I know I am too bold, but you see I am dying, and I ask you,

by the pardon which we all hope for hereafter, not to deny me this favour: Answer me then: Was it you? . . . Was it he? . . .

'Donna Elvira thought herself in a dream: She turned a timid look towards Vittoria, who, reading in her eyes a fear of her severity, and, feeling that this was no time to shew it, embraced and re-assured her without uttering a word.

'Ginevra felt that she was dying in uncertainty; and, stretching out her trembling hands to the young girl, cried, or rather shrieked in a tone of desperation:

' "Tell me, then. . . ."

'Donna Elvira clung terrified to her friend, cast down her eyes, and replied:

' "It was. . . ."

'The countenance of the most unhappy Ginevra underwent an immediate change, and became all at once pinched and meagre: she raised herself, however, though with much difficulty, in a sitting posture upon the bed, seized Donna Elvira's hand, drew her close to her, threw her arms round her neck, and said:

' "Then, God bless you both, and make you happy!"

'But the last word was scarcely heard, and had not perhaps been completely articulated, before her soul received in Heaven the reward, due to the most arduous victory that a woman can gain over herself, the most magnanimous pardon that a human heart can grant.

'Her arms, which had been clasped round the neck of the daughter of Gonsalvo, let go their hold, and fell back with the rest of her body upon the bed, while her countenance took in a moment the look and hue of death. The young women seeing it, uttered a shriek. The monk remained some time as if he were breathless, but at length clasped his hands, and said:

' "This is a face worthy of Paradise."

'All three then knelt down, and prayed that she might have that repose, which her soul needed so much, and deserved so well. They folded her hands upon her breast, and Fra Mariano, having placed between her fingers the chaplet which he wore at his girdle, and set a light at her feet, said: "*Requiescat in pace!*" And, in his inmost soul, he now prayed for her, now asked her intercession, as a soul whom he believed already in a place of safety. Then, having led the two young women away from that fatal place, he returned to the body, and spent in prayer the hours which still remained before break of day."

We think this scene managed with consummate skill. It is perhaps almost too painful, but there is nothing in it which is revolting. One feels indeed a momentary repugnance at the fatal mistake, which does Ettore so much injustice, and causes such intense misery to Ginevra. Few writers of fiction, we believe, would have left it unexplained at the last, but we are convinced that D'Azeglio was right. His lesson is that of the Cross. He would teach us to believe that every thing is unimportant compared with the formation of the character for Heaven. It is not in this world that the highest virtue must look for its reward. In actual life, and fiction should be like actual life if it would carry out worthily its true vocation, there is much which is dark, mysterious, and inscrutable. There are dispensations from which the natural heart shrinks, but they

must be best, because they spring from unerring wisdom and unbounded love. And the time is short. All mistakes will soon cease in that world, for which this is only a preparation. We must look to the end. Clouds and tempests may be around us, but beyond and above them is the pure serene of heaven.

Inigo and Brancaleone, in the meantime, are suffering the greatest alarm and anxiety about Fieramosca. He is now unable even to stand, and the next day but one he is to meet his opponents in the field. In order to know the worst, Brancaleone returns to the island, while Inigo remains at Barletta. He finds Ettore in a profound sleep, and Zoraide seated at his pillow. She makes signs of silence and they retire together. He learns that all is going on well, and that by the next day Ettore will be as well as ever. There is, however, a mysteriousness in Zoraide's manner which he is unable to penetrate; while he also conceals from her what he yet knows respecting Ginevra. On his return to the fortress, he is made acquainted with her fate.

Prospero Colonna, meanwhile, begins to be both surprised and displeased at the absence of Ettore, but is satisfied by the assurances of Brancaleone that he is detained by urgent business, but will be at his post before the appointed time. Ettore then arrives in perfect health and strength. Anxious inquiries after Ginevra succeed; and his eagerness to go to her, and the difficulty with which he is at last persuaded that all is well, and that she is safe with Vittoria Colonna, are very graphically described. In answer to the questions of his friend respecting his wound, he drops some expressions which imply his belief, that, like the Queen of our first Edward, Zoraide had risked her own life to save his, by sucking the poison. He speaks of it, however, as of the remembrance of a dream. The friends then separate.

'Before going up into his room, Fieramosca gave a look at the stable. Having entered, he began to fondle his good battle-horse with the affection, one might almost say friendship, which every soldier feels for the companion of his dangers and fatigues. He threw his arm round the animal's neck, and patted him gently on the shoulders, while the horse put back his ears, shook his head, and playfully pretended to bite his master.

"Eat, my poor Airone, and make good cheer while thou canst, for thou art not sure of sleeping upon this litter to-morrow night. If it were for anything else, I would take Boccanera, and thou should'st not risk thy skin: but to-morrow I have great need of having thee under me, for I am certain thou wilt not make a false step." "And then," he added, smiling as he pinched his nostril, "thou too art an Italian, and must bear the cross."

"Then, having seen that all was right, "Masuccio," he said, as he turned to his groom, "at four o'clock give him some water, and as much corn as his body will hold; and at five come to arm me."

Having given these orders, he went up a few minutes after to his room, put out the light, and went to bed, firmly resolved to rest himself and go to sleep. At first he seemed as if he would succeed, but then came one thought, and then another and another, till he had been many hours in bed without being able to close his eyes a moment. All that related to Ginevra, about which he had been partly satisfied by Brancaleone, in whose fidelity he could venture to trust, seemed to him afresh full of darkness and suspicion. A thousand doubts and fears crowded thickly around his heart. "What," he thought, "can all this mystery mean? and I must not know even to-morrow! Can Brancaleone want to deceive me?"

For a moment he was near cursing the challenge in his heart: but the thought was repelled with indignation before it was entirely formed.

"Oh! shame, shame!" he cried, sitting up in the bed, "how can such baseness enter my mind? . . . Am I no longer the same? What would Ginevra say if she saw me so sadly changed? so cold to thoughts which once ran through my veins like fire?"

And he felt such indignation against himself at the reflection, that he got up furiously and dressed himself in haste, not being able to sleep any more and feeling bed insupportable, and went out upon the terrace, where he seated himself as he was wont on the wall underneath the palm tree, and determined to wait for the dawn, which was not far off.

The pale and waning moon was but faintly reflected in the sea. To the left, at the distance of about five hundred paces, arose the citadel, whose outlines, scarcely distinguished at such an hour, looked like one large dark mass, of which the battlements alone on the summit of the towers, were slightly defined on the sky. Ettore sighed as he looked at those walls, and thought of her whom they enclosed, and every now and then he fancied he heard the distant murmur of an alternate chant. But it was so far off that it sometimes seemed real and sometimes not. At one of the windows, which, being at the side of the castle, could only be seen askance, was a light which was not extinguished all night. He would have given his heart's blood not to see that light, and from time to time turned his eyes elsewhere, saying: "I am a fool to torment myself with such fancies," but he could not help looking again, and there the light still continued.

With the self-deception often practised, when men are harrassed by some perplexing doubt, he tried to persuade himself, what in his inmost soul he could not quite believe, that Ginevra was well, that no misfortune had happened to her, and that all the mystery, which he saw in the business, was only his own idea, a mere imagination. And he made this effort to deceive himself, because he felt that it was indispensable. He could not turn all his thoughts, and all the powers of his mind, to the approaching combat, unless he could be certain, or at least consider it highly probable, that, what reason told him was pure illusion, was undoubted fact.

"Oh yes, yes," he said, shaking his head, and passing his hand over his forehead and through his hair, as if to get rid of his thick-coming fancies, "let us think first of all about doing ourselves credit . . . and perhaps to-morrow at this time I shall be able to say to her, *Ginevra, we have got the victory.* . . ." Then, stopping for a moment to think, "or else thou wilt see me enter Barletta upon my bier, and wilt say, *Poor Ettore, thou hast done what thou could'st.* . . . And suppose this should happen? I shall have died like a brave man; and she will weep for my death: But she would not wish me to live with dishonour, and will be proud to say, *we have been friends from children.* . . . yes . . . but, in the meantime, she will be here without any protection: She does not even know that her husband is in the French camp; and, even if she did, how can she present herself to him after so long a time?"

'Ettore had formed, and partly executed, the design of recommending her to the care of Brancalone, but reflecting that he might be killed as well as himself, he resolved to write to Prospero Colonna, and direct that his little property at Capua, namely his house, a farm, together with his horses and armour, amounting to several thousand ducats, should belong to Maria Ginevra Rossi di Monreale. He re-kindled his light therefore, and in a short time wrote the letter, and then he thought he would enclose one for Ginevra, as if to take leave of her, and recommend to her care the young Saracen, to whom he had so much reason to be grateful. The cocks were beginning to crow, and in the stables below the men were already on the stir, so that time pressed, and he only wrote these few lines.

"Ginevra, I am just about to mount, and I do not know whether I shall dismount this evening alive. If Heaven has decreed otherwise, I doubt not that, when thou hast given some tears to him, who has been so faithfully from boyhood thy friend and servant, thou wilt rejoice that I have found a death, than which one more noble and glorious cannot be imagined. Please to accept, for my sake, the little property which I can call mine; for thou knowest that I am free, and have no near relations. I only recommend to thee, and few words are necessary for that, my servant Masuccio, who, since the day when he got that wound in his shoulder at Ofanto, is little able to help himself, and would run the risk, without thy help, of being forced to beg for the love of God, which would do little honour to my memory. I have one thing more to tell thee. Thy husband is in the pay of the Duke de Nemours. I have no time to write more. I hear them on the alert in the house of the Colonna. God keep thee! I also recommend to thee Zoraide. Ettore."

The trumpet then sounds, and the thirteen champions, with Prospero Colonna and a crowd of spectators, proceed to the church, where an early mass is celebrated previous to the battle. We must extract a few passages from this graphic scene.

'The Church was an oblong with three aisles, separated from each other by columns and pointed arches, roughly executed, two transepts towards the High Altar, forming a cross with the principal body of the building. The choir for the monks, placed according to ancient usage before the altar, was of wood, the divisions of the stalls thickly carved with ornaments in relieve, to which time had given a dark and shining tint. In the middle of the choir was a bench, capable of holding thirteen persons, where the Italian men at arms took their place. Day was declining, and there was not light enough to pass through the painted glass of the narrow windows, so that the whole interior of the church was nearly in darkness, and the red glare of the few candles, which were burning before the altar, quivered only upon the cuirasses of the combatants, leaving all the other figures in deep shadow. Prospero Colonna, himself also armed, stood a little before the rest, and at his feet, to kneel upon, was a rich cushion of red velvet with the *column* embroidered in silver, brought in by two pages who now stood a few paces behind him. Mass began, said by Fra Mariano, and the hearts of such of the spectators, as were capable of high and generous sentiments, could not have contemplated with indifference these bold and courageous young men, who were bending to the earth before the God of battles, foreheads furrowed by toil, and worn by the iron of the helmet, to ask that it might be given to their swords to overcome those, who would drag the Italian name in the dust.

'Their movements and attitudes, to which the long use of arms gave

even in prayer a certain air of spirit and courage, expressed notwithstanding the religious feelings which occupied their minds. At the extremity of the bench stood Fieramosca, upright, motionless, with his arms folded on his breast. In front of him, a few paces off, the door of the Sacristy stood open, and the officers of the church were passing backwards and forwards in the exercise of their respective functions. This alone might not however have distracted his attention from the service, but he also witnessed a sight and overheard a dialogue, which at that moment were calculated more than ever to fix his thoughts on mournful subjects.

A man, dressed in a dark and tattered cloak, with his red hair all in disorder and a face of evil omen, was standing in the middle of the Sacristy; and turning to a Dominican Friar, who filled with his corpulence a large leathern arm chair placed between two chests, the usual furniture of such places, asked him roughly and in a hoarse voice:

"Which am I to get ready, that for the poor, or for gentle-folks?"

"A pretty question!" replied the friar, moving his lips, but no other part of his body, "Don't you know that Signor Gonsalvo pays the expenses? It is not one of those starvelings at Barletta, who chuse to be buried like paupers rather than pay the fees. . . . First class, I have told you all before, first class, bells, catafalque, and chaunted mass. You seem to be more stupid than usual."

The other shrugged his shoulders, and, going to one side of the sacristy, was lost to Fieramosca's sight. A key, however, was heard to turn in the lock, and a door open, then a sound of footsteps retreating, and, for some minutes, nothing more. Soon, however, the steps returned, there was a sound as of something dragged along the pavement, and the same man at length re-appeared, and deposited in the middle of the sacristy a black bier striped with silver, having a cross at the head, and at the foot a scull, supported by two bones placed beneath in the figure of a S. Andrew's cross. Over the whole he then threw a pall of black velvet. * * * *

It never entered Fieramosca's mind, and if it had he would have driven the suspicion from him as madness, for whom the bier was intended; but he could not take his eyes from it during the remainder of the mass. His thoughts dwelt naturally upon the idea that this might be the last day of his life, and, turning his spirit with more fervour to God, he again besought pardon for his offences. He recalled to his mind all that had passed since he took Ginevra from San Cecilia; and he seemed to have no cause for remorse except in having concealed from her the fact that Graiano was still alive. Of this, however, as of every other fault, he had made confession the evening before; and it seemed to him that he might now be easy, and meet death freely. Mass ended, the thirteen followed Prospero home, and sat down to table, that they might not go to the combat fasting.

The combat is then described, and with such spirit, that it well deserves to be extracted entire, but we must be satisfied with briefly stating the results. They are historical. The arrogant assumption of the French is signally punished. They fight indeed, with great bravery, and at the last with great desperation, but in the end the victory of the Italians is complete. Ettore is the hero of the day, but Fanfulla and Branca-leone also distinguish themselves highly. The latter, availing himself of the well-known weakness of his helmet, cleaves the skull of Ginevra's husband, who falls dead at his feet. All hope of paving the way for Ettore's happiness was of course over, but

the traitor is sacrificed to the vengeance of his injured country. Graiano alone is killed. This is strictly in accordance with the historical accounts of the battle. The rest are made prisoners on the field, and follow their conquerors to Barletta.

'They advanced on foot, speechless, stupified, surrounded by an immense crowd, and the Italians followed them on horseback, to the sound of musical instruments, and amidst the cries of *Long live Italy! Long live the Colonna!*

'When they had reached the fortress, and entered the hall of state, the thirteen champions presented their twelve surviving captives to Gonsalvo, who surrounded by his barons was waiting their arrival. The great captain, after having given great praise to the victors, turned to the French, and said:

"Never will I insult brave men in their ill-fortune. The fate of war is uncertain, and he who is conquered to-day may himself conquer to-morrow. I will not tell you to respect henceforth Italian valour; for, after such deeds as these, my words would be superfluous. But I *will* tell you to honour courage and noble daring wherever they may be found, remembering that God has imparted them to all men; and not made them the peculiar privilege of your nation. And, moreover, to believe that true courage is adorned by modesty, and disgraced by vain boasting.

'He then dismissed them, and all quitted the hall together, and such was the end of that glorious day. * * * *

'Fieramosca could at length think of himself and Ginevra, and withdrew quietly from his companions. * * * * At the end of one of the galleries he caught sight of Vittoria Colonna, who had been present at Gonsalvo's reception of the thirteen champions, and was returning to her own apartments, which she was on the point of entering. He no sooner saw her than he began to run, and calling her by name, made her turn and stop. A part of what had happened to Fieramosca had reached Vittoria's ears, and she guessed what he wanted to ask.

"Oh God!" she thought, "what shall I say to him?" but she had no time to reflect, for Ettore was already close to her. His armour was covered with dust, and notched here and there with the blows which it had received. One broken feather alone was visible on his helmet, while of the rest the bare stumps only remained. The vizor was raised, and his fine features sharpened by fatigue and sprinkled with perspiration, showed at once his triumphant joy at the glory he had obtained, and his anxious desire to be again restored to *her*, whom since the death of Graiano he could at length call his own.

'As the heart of man is inclined to hope or fear according to the circumstances by which he is for the time surrounded, the discouragement, I might almost say the desperation, which he had felt the night and morning before the battle, as he thought of what might happen to Ginevra, was changed now, by the physical and moral shock which the long combat and the unspeakable joy of the victory had occasioned, into a confident hope of finding her safe and well.

"Lady!" he said, and his breath came quick with the palpitation of his heart, "God bless and reward you! I know all . . . how you kindly received her . . . did her so much good . . . poor thing! . . . she stood in great need of it. . . . Lead me to her . . . for the love of God, let us go."

'Every word which the young man uttered was like a dagger to the heart of Vittoria, and she had not courage to tell him the mournful news. She could only contrive to compose her countenance to a half smile, and say:

"Ginevra is again at St. Ursula: (it was too true, for, about an hour before the return of the Italians from the field, she had been carried back to the convent, Fra Mariano attending in order to bury her in the night.)"

"At St. Ursula! how, so soon? Has she not then been ill? Is she well?"

"Yes, she is well."

"In the fulness of his joy, Fieramosca opened his arms as if to embrace Vittoria, but, dropping on one knee instead, and taking her hand, he impressed on it kisses of gratitude worth more than a thousand words.

"Then, rising in haste like one beside himself, he was going to hurry to St. Ursula without uttering a word more, when, glancing for a moment at his breast, he stopped short and turned back.

"Look, lady," he said with a smile, and at the same time with a kind of trepidation; "look at this blue scarf . . . she gave it me . . . to-day a sabre-cut, in making its way to the cuirass underneath, divided it in two."

"So saying, he loosened the knot which he had made with the two ends to keep the scarf from falling off.

"I am too bold, I know, but would it be giving you too much trouble to ask you to mend it, that Ginevra may not see that it has been cut? Poor thing, she might think it a bad omen . . . she might say: could'st thou not have covered it with thy shield?"

Vittoria went willingly to her room for the necessary materials, glad to escape for a moment from the young man's sight, and hide the emotion which his self-deceiving trustfulness occasioned. She returned with more composure, and began to busy herself with mending the scarf, and as she held down her head in doing so, Fieramosca did not see anything amiss.

"One can scarcely tell," he said, smiling as she went on working, "what colour it is now . . . it has gone through many and great chances . . . it has been my companion in misfortune . . . it will be now in happiness. You do not know how many years have passed over my head, during which it has never left me . . . in how many battles I have kept it safe. . . . And now to-day! . . . when all my sorrows are turned into joy . . . that they should have spoiled it! What would any one say who believed in auguries?"

Vittoria went on sewing without answering a word. Divided between the thought that he must be told the truth, and the invincible repugnance of being herself the bearer of such grief, she believed to reconcile all by seeking Brancaloneone, as soon as Ettore had left her, and begging him to support his friend under this terrible trial.

"A thousand thanks," said Ettore, when the work was finished, and quick as lightning he was down the great staircase, and in the court-yard. No one was there, but his servant Masuccio, holding by the bridle his master's horse covered all over with foam. The poor animal's head was hanging down, and his eye was dull and spent, while his sides panted heavily.

"To the stable, to the stable," cried Ettore to the servant as he passed near him, "Where did'st thou learn this? . . . a horse hot with perspiration standing in the air!" And he left the court yard to procure a boat for St. Ursula, the distance by sea being shorter. * * *

A boat was not to be found. * * * Stamping with impatience, he then said, "I will go on horse-back: it is a little further: be it so." When he reached the stable Masuccio was taking off the bridle from Airone.

"Leave it as it is," said Fieramosca; then, taking it from his hands and throwing it over the horse's neck, he vaulted with one leap into the saddle, and in a few moments was out of the city, and on the road which leads along the shore to the convent.

"Poor Airone!" he said, patting his neck, while he quickened with his spur the unwilling trot of the good horse, who felt it hard after a day of so much fatigue to be denied the stable, "thou art right, but have a little more patience, and I will repay thee for all."

Night in the meantime was closing in; the sun had set nearly half an hour; and Fieramosca, who was going towards the east, had a clear and serene sky behind him, but, in front, long dark clouds covered the face of the heavens, terminating beneath in a line which ran parallel to the horizon. From this streaks of rain, more or less dense, came down precipitately upon the line of the sea; while the summits of the mass of clouds, which ascended to the mid heavens, were tinged with a whitish hue by the lingering twilight. In the midst of the darkness, the tremulous flash of the lightning, and the hollow and distant rumble of the thunder, scarcely ceased for a moment. The sea swelled higher and higher every instant, and threatened a tempest. The tint of the waves in the centre was almost black, while on the crest alone were seen to scud minute drops of white foam. Rising and coursing one another along the whole line of coast, they finished in a thin, green, and transparent layer, which came forward like a wall of glass, till its extreme edge curling over, it fell with a crash, and inundated the dry gravel of the shore with foam.

The gloomy aspect of the weather could not, however, at that moment disturb the happiness of the young Italian. He measured with impatient eye the length of road which separated him from St. Ursula, and the coast being level and bare, he could see it all. He imagined the delight of Ginevra's first appearance: he saw her advance to meet him with that modest turn of the eye, that motion at once so beautiful and so full of grace. He hoped to be the first to give her news of the victory, and his only perplexity was, how he should most suitably give her to understand that she was now free, and her hand at her own disposal.

At the distance of about two gun-shots from the tower, the east wind, which was beating full in his face, brought the storm nearer. Big drops struck athwart him, rebounding from the cuirass in foam; and, at length, by little and little, came on smaller and thicker, till they became continuous. A clap of thunder followed, which seemed to make way for a cataract from heaven, and a water spout came down upon Fieramosca, which wetted him from head to foot, though it caught him only a few steps from the tower. The gate was still open; and he passed through with all speed, and was soon on the island, and close to the building occupied by strangers. Having tied his horse to an iron grating, where the roof afforded some slight shelter, in four bounds he was in the apartments of Ginevra. We need not say that he found them empty. He re-descended in haste, and his first impulse was to seek her in the church. He knew that she commonly went to pray in a small gallery above, and no sooner had he entered than he cast his eyes that way. The gallery was empty; the church also was empty and nearly quite dark; empty also was that part of the choir that was seen, but a hollow chant was heard as if it came from beneath. He went forward, and perceived that from the opening before the High Altar, which communicated with the chapel below, a ray emerged, which threw a circle of discoloured light on the vaulted roof above. As he drew near, he heard that they were reciting prayers in the subterranean chapel. He turned behind the altar and descended. The clash of his armour, and the sound of his spurs, and of the point of his sword against the steps, made the persons who formed a circle in the chapel, which they nearly filled, turn round. The circle opened. At the foot of the staircase was the bier which Fieramosca had seen in the morning in the sacristy of San Domenico. In front, beside the altar, stood Fra Mariano in his Rochet and a mourning

cloak, holding the holy water in his uplifted hand. In the centre was an open tomb. On one side were two men holding in an upright position the stone intended to cover it; on the other Zoraide kneeling, and bending over the body of Ginevra, which was already placed within, and sobbing as she arranged the veil around the face, and laid a crown of white roses upon the forehead.

'Ettore had now reached the bottom, and saw the whole. He stood motionless; without uttering a word, without making a gesture, without winking an eyelid. His countenance by degrees grew sharp, he became pale as death, and large drops of cold sweat ran from his forehead.

'Zoraide's sobs redoubled, and Fra Mariano, with a faltering voice, which showed how his heart was wrung at the sight of the young man's bitter agony, had just strength enough to say—

"Yesterday she took her flight to heaven. God is making her more happy now than she could have been with us——"

'But even the good monk felt that tears were choking his voice, and was silent.

'The stone, replaced by the iron bars over the opening of the tomb, found its proper level, fell, and was firmly fixed.

'Ettore was still motionless. Fra Mariano went to him, took his hand which offered no resistance, embraced him, turned him round, and led him away, and Ettore obeyed. They ascended the staircase together and left the church. The flashes of lightning and the peals of thunder still continued, and the rain fell in torrents. When they drew near the stranger's apartments, Fieramosca tore himself from the arms of the monk, and before the latter could say a word, was already in the saddle, his body bending over the horse's neck, his spurs thrust into his sides, and the sound of his gallop was heard under the portico of the tower.

'Neither the friends of Fieramosca, nor any man of that generation, saw him any more from that time, either alive or dead.

'Various conjectures were formed respecting his end, but all vain and uncertain. The only one which offered any degree of verisimilitude was this.

'Some poor mountaineers of Gargano, who were busied in making charcoal, related to some of their companions, (and a long time after, when the Spanish camp had been raised, passing from mouth to mouth, the report reached Barletta), that one night during a violent tempest, there appeared to them the strange vision of an armed knight on horseback on the top of certain inaccessible rocks, whose edge fell perpendicularly into the sea. A few persons at first, then many more, and at last every body said, and set it down as an established fact, that it was S. Michael the Archangel.

'But when it came to the ears of Fra Mariano, and he compared the epochs, he conjectured that it might have been Ettore, who, quite bewildered, had urged his horse through the most difficult passes, till they had at last fallen together down some unknown precipice, or perhaps even into the sea.

'In 1616, a rocky shoal under Mount Gargano having been left dry, a fisherman discovered, wedged in between two large stones, a heap of iron almost entirely corroded by the sea water and rust, and found in the midst of it some human bones and the carcass of a horse.'

We need make no comment on the deep pathos of these concluding extracts. There is something in the scene between Ettore and Vittoria in particular, which seems to us inexpressibly touching. Perhaps it may remind the reader of the scene between Waverley and Flora M'Ivor, in which the sister is discovered making her brother's shroud, but we think it in all respects greatly superior. Of the work in general we

have already given our opinion in the notice of Niccolò de' Lapi, in our July number for 1848, and we could only repeat what we have there stated, and to which we refer our readers. At that time we had no intention of giving more than a rapid sketch of the romance before us, but we have since thought that it deserves to be known to the English reader, no less than its more dignified and elaborate successor. Though its merits are of a different character, they are of the highest order. To many minds the interest excited is deeper, and it is more gentle. There is more of human feeling. The puritanical element, which, in spite of its moral grandeur, gives a harshness to Niccolò, is in Ettore exchanged for the chivalrous. And we feel ourselves among the highly born, the noble, and the illustrious. Even the imperfection of the principal personages adds in some degree to their charm. We have not the stern and superhuman excellence which we admire, but with which we do not cordially sympathize. And yet there is deep and true principle at the bottom. The eye never loses sight of the cross. And this, we repeat, is the master key to D'Azeglio's influence over the wise and good. His works are eminently Christian. He does not merely make us conversant with high thoughts and noble aspirations, which all earnest writers in the present day almost without exception aim at, and in which they not unfrequently succeed, but he makes us feel that 'no foundation can any one lay but that which is laid.' And it is here that so many of his fellow-novelists so lamentably fail. It requires but a slight acquaintance with the imaginative literature of the day to perceive that, in spite of a professed and even real desire for truth, and goodness, and self-sacrifice, it utterly ignores 'the law and the testimony.' We except, of course, what are called 'religious novels,' in which there is a superabundance of the religious element, but so mixed up with the writer's peculiar 'views,' as to be acceptable only to the party for whom they are intended. We speak of works, not only of acknowledged talent, but of professedly universal principles. Such works either pass over the Bible and the Church altogether; or if they affect philosophy, treat them as bygone things, successive developments of the human mind in its progress towards perfection, not authoritative emanations of the Divine Will, upon which opinions are to be formed, and by which conduct is to be regulated. There is, perhaps, no one point in which the tendencies of the age are more fully shewn, than in the sense of man's responsibility. While there is scorn of selfishness, and trickery, and false seeming, and a base truckling to the rich and great; while there is an honest and enlarged desire to promote human virtue and happiness, man's physical and mental well-

being in short; and, while there are occasional glimpses of the Infinite and the Eternal, which make our hearts burn within us; there is no feeling of man's responsibility to God as a creature and a sinner. Our modern literature, like our modern monuments, is the blazonry of man's achievements, instead of the record of his fall and restoration. It is the statesman dying in the arms of his country, or the warrior on the field of his glory, or the actor standing forth in the lofty character which he embodied, not the penitent sinner, who, with closed eyes, hands crossed on his breast, or raised in the attitude of prayer, lays his virtues and his sins together at the foot of the cross. Now we think these antichristian tendencies of no small moment. Their effect upon the popular mind is great, and it is most hurtful. We doubt if even the worldly and sensual literature of a bygone age, sapped so completely the very foundations of truth. Things were called then by their right names. Virtue was virtue, and vice was vice. Men feared God, or they did not. A well-defined boundary was set, which they understood, even if they overleaped it. But now we are so confused by the mixture of truth and error, low conceptions of duty, and bursts of highly-wrought feeling, that we can scarcely recognise the ancient landmarks. We hail, therefore, any return to better things. And we find them both at home and abroad. We have some writers among ourselves who know and appreciate their high vocation, but we think that, in the works now for the first time submitted to the English reader, there is a depth and earnestness, which, united as they are with Christian submission, we do not find elsewhere. In *D'Azeglio*, as in his father-in-law *Manzoni*, there is what the old puritans were wont to call 'the root of the matter.' Bating a few Roman peculiarities, the religion which these works pourtray, is that of the Bible and of the universal Church, and we cannot form a better wish than that all readers, both here and elsewhere, may drink deeply of its spirit, and be fully prepared for its self-sacrifice.

ART. IV.—*Observations on the Social and Political State of the European People in 1848 and 1849.* By SAMUEL LAING, ESQ. London: Longman & Co. 1850.

MR. LAING is ambitious to raise the profession of a traveller above the more common level of recording the personal history of an individual with the adventures of his pilgrimage. This may be accomplished by great powers of description, or by reflection on what is seen or heard, that is, by observations on the social and political state of foreign countries. In these days of pictorial representation and advancement in every branch of that art, the province of scenery is taken away from the traveller unless he handles the pencil or brush, or otherwise is enabled to make the fine arts subservient to his purpose. This however is not Mr. Laing's object, nor his turn of mind, as we shall presently discover; therefore he has chosen the legitimate object of making all his talents aid the science of political economy. For fifty years he has been a traveller in Europe, and knew Hamburg when its senators wore powdered wigs, velvet coats, silk breeches, gold shoe-buckles, and drove about in gilt coaches of antique shape. Peruques and the pomp of ancient days have been laid aside, and Europe presents another state of things, linked to her social life for better or for worse. The whole condition of modern Europe, as compared with England, comes in review in the course of this work, and many questions of great interest at the present time are most powerfully discussed. The conclusions which Mr. Laing arrives at are attained by a very different process in many respects from what would be followed up by a member of the English Church, but their innate truth is often a confirmation of views held by persons from whom Mr. Laing would much differ. His conclusions are radically opposed to modern government schemes, on much the same ground that the Church party would adopt; and the very fact that he is himself a presbyterian, proves that this opposition not only arises from the imaginations and dreams of a particular school, as a bold adherence to church principles still makes its defenders liable to be called; but from some fundamental error in the social philosophy of modern governments. The great questions that attract his attention are some of them remediable and still matters of choice, while others are certain visible consequences from certain past events already

too fixed to be at all matters of controversy, and the discussion of which is chiefly of use as pointing out the evils which result, in order that some of their tendencies may be checked.

Of the latter kind, is the great land question, from which Mr. Laing traces the distinctive marks of modern politics throughout the continent. During the last half century the whole land of France has passed from its original possessors, and become divided into small portions belonging to peasant proprietors. This state of things viewed in the abstract has some advantages, but many evils. Both sides of the question are fully stated in this work, but no opinion definitely expressed, as to which on the whole answers best; nor indeed is it a practical question as long as rights of property are respected; and if such rights are violated, we can hardly expect that any system will have a fair trial. England still maintains her large landed proprietors, while the continent has swept them away. It is therefore a question of great interest to trace the various results of such opposite conditions. On abstract grounds there is much to be said in favour of small holdings, but in connexion with other subjects of political interest it is found the parent of great disorder. The middle class is thereby destroyed, and there is no intervening influence between the governing power and the mass of the people; nothing to represent moral and social order as of spontaneous growth, and as the natural condition of man. The bare nakedness of physical force is clearly seen in imperial edicts, which work directly on the private habits of a people, and the foundations of tyranny are most effectually laid if a system of this kind is established. In England the whole people in their various positions and ranks of life appear to go on naturally and easily as if by themselves, only appealing to authority to correct certain crimes, and amend errors of social politics as they are discovered. Government, according to the spirit of our constitution, is a visitatorial rather than a direct power; it presupposes inherent laws of moral and social life, and it is only concerned to see those laws carried out. Its power is really the greater for this unseen character of acting through a medium, and not by direct instruments. An English subject does not trace every action of daily life to an act of parliament; he has no government official always at his elbow, backed by the whole force of an imperial army; but he rests securely on abstract principles of justice, and considers it his birthright to have just cause of complaint if such principles are violated with regard to himself, by Kings, Lords, or Commons. This state of things necessarily implies a large and influential class between the governing and the governed, and the recognition of independent interests as the

immediate source of all the actions that make up our daily existence. Each individual is thus left free, and only interfered with in case he injures his neighbour. A third class is indeed necessary, under all circumstances, between the supreme power and the people; the question then is really this: shall this third, this middle body, be direct functionaries of government, or shall they be independent agents? On this depends true liberty. If every change of government affects with galvanic shock the whole fabric of a nation, it cannot be said that the people are free; we require, as it were, springs and buffers, to break the shock which would otherwise go so rudely throughout the whole train of interests. Even the representative power is nothing to the freedom from caprice which independent rights insure to the people themselves. The House of Commons indeed is chiefly of use to preserve this liberty to others, and it is not its province to assume an executive power inconsistent with such rights; yet the whole system of modern Europe, since the almost completed annihilation of the aristocracy and landed interests, is such, that this middle class is composed of paid government officers, whose daily bread depends on the smile of government. It is the Prussian system of *functionarism* that is the modern bugbear of Europe; it is this we have to resist, and it is this which forms the great point of attack in the book before us. Again and again does Mr. Laing come round to the same point. His honest indignation against this system, which eats away the vitality of human independence, is amusing from its very pertinacity. He abhors and detests a *functionary* as an evil genius of mankind. He rejects their best offers of assistance, and cares neither for protection from enemies, nor for the education of the poor, nor the stability of government, if supported and encouraged by such means, because he has no confidence in the reality of their discipline, and had rather trust to blind confusion than a hungry and servile array of placemen, servile, that is, to those above them in office, but arrogant enough to the helpless sheep driven about by these civic pastors.

In contrast to such a condition of the public service Mr. Laing appeals to England with almost too free an admiration, picturing in too high colours the prosperity and luxury of our humbler classes. He knows Prussia and France better than England; still, in the main, he is right, though partial in his home knowledge. He also excludes some other considerations that should come into the science of political economy. He is an honest presbyterian, and according to his light gives open expression to a natural shrewdness of observation and a great power of tracing social effects to their causes. His fair and

hearty love of justice compels him indeed in many instances to state results and expound views that he but faintly attempts to reconcile with sentiments elsewhere expressed. There is a poverty in his defence of the religious theory adopted by him, and a strength in his frank acknowledgments of the obligations we are under to the Church, that leave an impression by no means hostile towards one who yet totally and radically opposes every vestige of authority to a visible Church. He is consistent, and sublimates his own theories till they amount to a confession of more value to his opponents than his friends: thus he refines true Christian worship to such a spiritual and intellectual service, that he is obliged to throw over Calvin and Luther alike, as, after all, not being Apostles. The æsthetic principle he repudiates to an extent that will gain few admirers, and perhaps only suggest the consideration whether there may not be some truth in his assertion, that there is no mean between his idea of spiritual worship and a tangible belief in a visible Church, called by him indeed popery, but equally applicable to our Church according to his views of faith and practice. He damages moreover the religious argument on the æsthetic principle, by the boldness with which he casts off the influence of the fine arts generally from being of any advantage to the human race. Architecture indeed he professes to admire, but exults in the inferiority of English public buildings. Painting also he thinks good and estimable in its way, where Raphael is the artist: but any general application of taste and external beauty, as tending to elevate the mind, he discards as unworthy of any comparison with the smallest consideration of comfort, or even of being reconcileable with the habits of a people in any high state of civilisation. Music however is Mr. Laing's especial abhorrence: not even Beethoven can find a term of respect from him. 'The human animal somehow does not seem to thrive,' he says, 'upon the cup of coffee, the pipe of tobacco, the *dolce far niente*, and a sonata of Beethoven.' Even the humble attempt at music in the presbyterian Church of Scotland he condemns, consisting (and we cannot say we should much admire it ourselves) of each verse of a psalm being read and then sung without any regard to continuity of tune. Again and again he inveighs against music, and would grant but little occupation for the Hullah system if his social plans were carried out. Now this peculiar obliquity of Mr. Laing's mind arises first from his being a presbyterian, secondly from an innate deadness to any influence from external beauty himself, and thirdly from his hatred of Germans, who are musical, and otherwise given to the fine arts. We might also add that he belongs to a former school of education, when the arts were

only considered as pretty playthings for idle people, but unworthy of practical men.

With this moral deficiency apparent in all that Mr. Laing says, his whole line of argument is generally sound, and his conclusions most valuable. One element indeed is wanting, but he so far gives us the idea of himself feeling this want, of leaving a vacancy in his scheme for something to fill, and of almost suggesting the true remedy, that next to the witness of a thorough Churchman we find most truth in him, and this book we suspect will be more referred to by the Church party than by his own fellow-presbyterians.

It is time, however, that we introduce a few definite subjects on which he gives us the benefit of his observations.

The foundation and object of the present work is to trace the effect of subdivision of land on the continent; and first he dwells on the advantages of this system as witnessed in Flanders, where we may look on it as an abstract question, unconnected with any great recent spoliation of Church or nobility, the land having been thus divided for many generations.

The argument in favour of small divisions of land, under peasant-proprietors, is the superior cultivation which is thus induced :—

‘ Here, in Flanders, from Calais, by St. Omer, to Lisle, Belgium, and Prussia, a route as well known to English travellers as the road from London to York, the division of the land into small estates of working peasant-proprietors is painted upon the face of the country. The whole expanse is like a carpet, divided into small compartments of different shades and hues of green, according to the different crops of which each farmer has a little patch on his little estate. Two different kinds of crop may often be seen on one rig, or bed; and five or six acres together under one kind of crop, are not common. There being no hedges or inclosures, no grass fields for pasture, and no uncultivated corners or patches, the whole country looks like one vast bleach-field, covered with long webs of various colours and shades. The land is evidently divided into very small portions of property. The traveller cannot be mistaken in this observation. Now, as this state of property is of old standing here in Flanders, and not, as in the rest of France, an arrangement of recent date, what have been the results on the material condition of the people, or their agriculture, in the first place, on the amount of constant employment it affords them, on their numbers in proportion to their means of subsistence, on their food, lodging, clothing, on their moral and intellectual character? The condition of the people here must be the type of that to which the whole of Europe, excepting Great Britain, is tending, and which will be universal on the Continent in a few generations.’—P. 19.

The produce of this system is then described as follows :—

‘ Will any Scotch farmer, “ of capital and skill,” from the Lothians, venture to say that he has his farm of 200 or 300 acres in such good heart, in such a clean garden-like condition, so free from weeds, and carrying all over it such luxuriant crops, and producing so much food per

acre for man and beast, as an equal number of the acres now before me in this tract of country? Has any farmer in Scotland or England such crops of red clover, lucerne, and other green succession crops, as are now, in spring, being cut, or coming on for being cut, in succession, on these small patches of farms, for the summer stall-feeding of cattle in the house? There are no cattle in the fields, and no pasture-fields for them, in the ordinary course of husbandry, on these small estates. All are kept in-doors, in summer as well as in winter; and all the land, not in grain crops, is under green crops, for their support. The fodder is cut and carried to the cattle, fresh, twice a-day, and the cutting and carrying employs the whole family. This stall-feeding of cattle all summer in-doors, and the saving thereby of the manure, which is the object of it, during six months of the year in which the manure is positively thrown away by our system of pasturage in fields of permanent, or of second or third year's sown grass, is a husbandry scarcely known among our large farmers. It may, indeed, be reasonably doubted if it would be practicable on a large farm. To cut and carry green fodder for half a dozen cattle, by the labour of the family, is an operation very different in expense from hiring labour to cut and carry the whole summer fodder of the cattle-stock of a large farm. In gardening and husbandry, and even in trade and manufactures, there are operations which are practicable and profitable on a small scale, but which would not be so on a great scale; and many answer well on a great scale, which would not answer at all in a small way.'—Pp. 20—22.

The question which next occurs after this comparison, is the ultimate purpose of land, and its obligation to support the various classes of a social community as well as to pay rent. If land is only looked upon as paying rent, that land of course which cannot pay rent is left uncultivated, though still it might support a population without that charge upon their labours:—

'What cannot afford rent to the landlord, and profit to the tenant, as well as a subsistence to the labourer, cannot be taken into cultivation at all, until the better sort of land becomes so scarce that the inferior must be resorted to, and, from the scarcity and consequent dearthness of the better, can afford a rent and profit also. This appears to be the glimmering of meaning in the foggy theory of rent given us by our great political economists. They forget that God Almighty did not create the land for the purpose of paying rents to country gentlemen, and profits to gentlemen farmers, but to subsist mankind by their labour upon it; and that a very large proportion of the land of this world, which never could be made to feed the labourers on it, and to yield besides a surplus of produce affording rent and profits to another class, could very well subsist the labourers, and in a comfortable civilised way too, if that were all it had to do. It could produce to them food, fuel, clothing, lodging, or value equivalent to these requirements of civilised subsistence, but could not produce a surplus for rent, and profit, over and above their own civilised subsistence.'—Pp. 25, 26.

Our author's freedom in discussing Caledonian virtue and wisdom is entertaining, and shall tell its own tale to our readers in the following extract:—

'What a cackling and braying, some forty years ago, at agricultural dinners, farmers' clubs, and county meetings, about Scotch farming! From Thursowater to the river Trent, the land resounded with the praises

of Scotch farming, Scotch leases, and Scotch rents. The Sir Johns and Sir Josephs of those days, with a board of agriculture at their tails, were flapping their wings and screaming with delight at the vast improvements to be effected by the Scotch system of land-letting and farming. If printed paper were as good to lay upon land as bone-dust or guano,—and probably it may,—a large proportion of the arable land of the united kingdoms might have been top-dressed with agricultural reports, transactions of the honourable board, farmers' journals, and treatises on Scotch husbandry. Improving is one thing, improvement is another; and the two do not always run together abreast, or follow each other in tandem. What has been the improvement, what the benefit to the great mass of the people of Scotland, by this improving? Rents, it will at once be answered, have been doubled, trebled, quadrupled, since it began, some sixty years ago; and as the large farmers, or tenants of adequate capital and skill, who pay those increased rents, are also making greater profits, as well as their landlords higher rents, it is evident that the land is now sending greater quantities of food to market, that there is a corresponding improvement, in short, in the productiveness of the land; and Swift or Burke has told us, that he is a benefactor of mankind, and has accomplished a great improvement for society, who makes two ears of corn grow where only one grew before. But softly. Let us examine this proposition. What is pithily said is not therefore necessarily true. One should be always on his guard against these well-said and pithily expressed sayings. Unless in mathematics and religion, there is no squeezing a general truth into the nut-shell of an axiom. Swift or Burke, or whoever said it, forgot, that unless those who raise the two ears of corn can also eat them, or enjoy, at least, a part and portion in them, it is no improvement in their condition, and they are the great mass of the population of a country, but only a benefit and improvement to the small body of landowners, and great tenants, to whom the corn belongs.—Pp. 26, 27.

The fruits of this system are then canvassed:—

‘Scotland has now enjoyed, for more than half a century, this improving process; and what is called the Scotch system of land-letting, and farming, has extended over the whole country. What has been the improvement, physical or moral, in the condition of the great mass of her population? Rents of land, it is true, have doubled, trebled, quadrupled; and the agricultural population being driven into the towns,—Glasgow, Edinburgh, Paisley, Greenock, Dundee, Aberdeen,—have doubled, trebled, quadrupled. The aggregate population of these six towns alone has risen, since 1801, from 262,274 souls, to 665,967 in 1841. Are not these towns great social excrescences in a country with only 2,620,000 inhabitants? In 1841 it was reckoned that there were only 141,243 families employed in agriculture, which, at four and a half persons for each family, would amount to an agricultural population, in all Scotland, of 636,093 persons, or somewhat less than the population of six of her towns. Is this a sound and wholesome distribution of employment and population in a country? Is it from want of land that so few families are subsisted by agricultural employment? The total area of Scotland is estimated at 20,586,880 acres, of which 9,039,930 are considered not susceptible of cultivation, being lakes, mountain-tops, rocks, &c.; and of the remaining 11,546,950 acres, 5,485,000 acres are cultivated, and 6,061,950 acres are uncultivated, the latter, however, yielding rent and profit, as sheep-farms, shooting-grounds, or deer-preserves, although not yielding employment and subsistence, as in former times, when the Highlands were a peopled country. There appears to be but one family employed in Scotland on every eighty-two

acres of the land capable of cultivation, and only one employed for every thirty-nine acres of the actually cultivated land. The great question here belongs to a higher science than political economy—to social philosophy. It is not whether more or better agricultural produce is sent to market by the one system than by the other, but whether it be a better social arrangement for the permanent well-being of a nation, that six hundred thousand only, of a population of two millions and a half, should be employed on the cultivation of the land of a country, and the rest of the mass of its working population be dependent, for the means to buy subsistence, on the manufacture and sale of cotton, iron, and other goods, for distant, foreign, and uncertain markets; or whether it would be a better arrangement of society, that the land of the country should employ and subsist the mass of its inhabitants, and only the smaller proportion be altogether dependent for employment, and food, on the sale, in the foreign or even in the home market, of the products of their work.'—Pp. 35, 36.

The moral condition of the Scotch here comes in for a few remarks, and a calculation is given of the quantity of whisky consumed during that day on which 'religious Edinburgh' allows no railway travelling, and protests against any work in the post-office. We will state this calculation in our own form; reckoning that 10,000*l.*, or thereabouts, would liberally build and tolerably endow a church not unworthy of the capital of the north; Edinburgh might do this month by month, if its inhabitants would deposit their Sunday drinking money in a fund for this purpose. The population of Scotland is 2,620,184, and consumes 5,595,186 gallons of spirits, while England with her 15,000,000, only consumes one third more.

The two systems of farming are compared with respect to the inhabitants they support, by taking an instance of a certain quantity of land in each case. It is calculated, that in East Lothian, 1600 acres would support in the first place a landed proprietor of 4,000*l.* a year: (high rent according to English notions!) then eight farmers, each of whom would employ on the whole what would amount to ten labourers, although even this with no regularity. The Flanders side of the picture is stated thus:—

'Here the whole 1600 acres must be in garden-farms of five or six acres; and it is evident that in the amount of produce from the land, in the crops of rye, wheat, barley, rape, clover, lucerne, and flax for clothing material, which are the usual crops, the 1600 acres, under such garden-culture, surpass the 1600 acres under large-farm cultivation, however good, as much as a kitchen-garden surpasses in productiveness a common field. On the 1600 acres here in Flanders, or Belgium, instead of eight farmers with their eighty farm-servants, there will be from 300 to 320 families, or from 1400 to 1600 individuals, each family working its own piece of land, and with some property in cows, sheep, pigs, utensils, and other stock in proportion to their land, and with constant employment and a secure subsistence on their own little estates.'—P. 39.

Many difficulties, however, occur to this system of division; nor is the question a practical one in the sense of having any

choice to make between one and another. And however great our author makes the advantages to be of small tenements, yet the main object of his book is to prove the evils of dispensing with the class of large landed proprietors, and otherwise shaking the established framework of society. One difficulty, however, in the abstract argument, is that evil reference for the ill-success of every thing, that great bugbear of all schemes, that great disappointment and snare to all politicians, moralists, and economists,—we mean, of course, Ireland. The division of land in Ireland certainly has not produced the happy results ascribed to it in Flanders. But it is said that in Ireland the small holdings do not give the stimulus to industry which is felt with actual proprietorship. It is time, however, to change the subject when we find ourselves immersed in a question of Irish industry, so we pass on to a difficulty that will occur even in Flanders, and it is not fully explained how, even there, the difficulty is encountered. Each generation will subdivide the paternal acres till nothing remains, or charges and mortgages will reduce the proceeds below subsistence. In France this process is rapidly taking place even since the revolution. The question thus arises, of what means there are to dispense with a surplus population, and prevent younger sons from being burdensome to the land; for every five acres would have its son and heir, and its younger members of a family, claiming jointures and re-enacting the burdens of a higher class. In truth, the state of small peasant proprietors is not a progressive social state, for this very reason, that no allowance is made for increase of numbers; it is a state of finality and leads to nothing. Each little farm does every thing for itself; makes its own food and raiment, and in so doing is isolated from any higher wants, or the more polite habits of civilized life. There is no home trade, no manufactures to absorb young men of energy and talent spared from other pursuits, and there are few occupations that supply the luxuries of life. The subdivision of land seems to operate against the subdivision of labour, and therefore against the highest amount of productiveness. The dress and manners of the people of Flanders are a striking contrast to England, who divides her labour between agriculture and manufactures more completely than any other country.

Their primitive habits are thus described :—

‘ Their houses, furniture, clothing, diet, utensils, and even modes of working, are fixed and regulated by ancient custom, from which no individual can deviate, without in a manner losing caste. The traveller often comes into a district in which all the inhabitants are clothed in one peculiar distinct costume, often of very antique fashion, and generally of home-made materials. He may always conclude that the district is one in which the occupancy of the land by small peasant-proprietors is of ancient stand-

ing, and predominant. These local costumes on the Continent are very interesting to the antiquary. They represent frequently the very dress, both in fashion and material, worn by the higher classes in the early part of the middle ages, before silks and fine cloths, or stuffs from Lombardy or Flanders, were generally diffused, and had driven the home-made materials of clothing, and the fashion of garments they were applied to, from the upper to the lower ranks of the people. The costume in some parts of the Continent is the same, at the present day, as the garb of noble dames and knights, represented on ancient tombstones, or in carvings, tapestry, and missals. The flower-girls at Hamburg, from the Vierländer on the Elbe, and the females of the Probstei, a district on the Baltic coast between Kiel and Lubeck, with their bunchy jupes, or petticoats like a Highlander's philibeg, scarcely reaching below the knee, but with a profusion of folds and plaits, making up, in the ample latitude of this indispensable garment, for the alarming deficiency in its longitude, are the very figures on the brasses and sculptured monuments in ancient cathedrals. These local costumes have an interest also for the social economist: they are a standard of clothing which regulates in these several districts the expense, preparation, and labour to be bestowed upon the apparel of every individual of a class which comprehends almost the whole population. The costume is the same for all in materials, pattern, and colour, whatever may be the diversity in the wealth of the individuals. The Dutch boor in North Holland, who possesses shares in East India-men, is not distinguishable in dress from the boor who has only his house and piece of land. Costume is not confined to dress: it extends to the furniture, the household goods, the housekeeping, the diet, the farm work. A sameness and equality are deemed necessary for respectability: nor is this common standard in dress very low; ornaments of silver, such as buckles, clasps, and dangling rows of buttons to some value, are worn in some districts by all respectable peasants. Gold earrings, lace, amber necklaces, enter into the common female attire in others. In Holland, and from Groningen to Embden, and northwards to the Elbe and Eyder, in the Frisian branch of the population, every girl, to be respectably dressed even in the station of a servant-maid, must have a frontlet or thin clasp of gold across her forehead. These are checks which society forms for itself upon improvidence in marriage, or extravagance in living. A man who cannot afford those articles deemed respectable and necessary in his station, cannot marry without visible imprudence, or find a woman to marry him.—Pp. 84, 85.

Under its best circumstances, we must confess that the small proprietor system is not progressive. Probably no class among ourselves is more ignorant than that of very small farmers, and those possessed of a few acres of land. No condition affords less spare time for the higher callings of our nature, and for intellectual pursuits. If a certain primitive character can be maintained through its means, as in Flanders, it is certainly an object of interest, but most impracticable as a model of imitation. Every nation that has adopted it is now full of its evils. But Mr. Laing gives no clue to the reason of its continuance in Flanders. He dwells on the absence of a middle class as its great mischief, and he acknowledges the Church to have supplied that middle element in former days: may not then the peculiar strength of the Church's authority in Flanders up to

this day be yet the means of counteracting some of those evils that are rampant in other places from the same causes? Does not the Belgian Church occupy the moral position of an influential landed proprietary? and is not the whole country a sort of reminiscence handed down to us of former times, from which, however, it would be difficult to take one element that constitutes its peculiarity, and transplant it to another climate or moral atmosphere?

The question of surplus population leads Mr. Laing to a disquisition on emigration, which has some truth in it, but not quite a fair statement of its merits. He is against emigration as any remedy for over-population, as any alleviation to those that remain at home, or any good to the emigrants themselves. To make up for those that go, a stimulus is given, he says, to marriage by their departure that soon supplies their number. This may be true, if emigration is merely desired as a means of keeping down the population; but its inability to do this is no argument against it, if it is the means of extending the human family in other parts of the world under circumstances of comfort and utility, at the same time allowing fresh branches to spring up in their room at home. As to the benefit enjoyed by emigrants themselves, this must rest on matters of fact rather than conclusions of any home philosopher. Mr. Laing cautions all labourers or small capitalists from being taken in by land companies. We would, of course, give the same caution against being *taken in*; but it is undeniable that emigration has bettered the condition of thousands, and is the obvious tendency of the human race from the beginning of the world. The argument, that the expense in shipping to send emigrants out is more than any value received, we must think founded on an idea inconsistent with any large view of human energy, as the means of extending the welfare of our race. There is truth in the following remarks, though by no means conclusive on the subject:—

‘I will give him another cogent reason against emigration. This nation of ours is past that stage in its social condition in which a people can throw off agricultural colonies from the main body. Two hundred years ago, when the peopling of the old American colonies was going on, the great mass of the population of the mother-country was essentially agricultural; but every working-man could turn his hand to various kinds of work, as well as to the plough. He was partly a smith, carpenter, wheelwright, stone-mason, shoemaker. The useful arts were not, as now, entirely in the hands of artisans bred to no other labour but their own trade or art; very expert, skilful, and cheap producers, in that; but not used to, or acquainted with, any other kind of work. This inferior stage of civilisation, in which men were not co-operative to the same extent as now, but every man did a little at every thing, and made a shift with his own unaided workmanship and production, was a condition of society very favourable

to emigration-enterprise, and to colonisation. It continues still in the United States, and is the main reason why their settlers in the backwoods are more handy, shift better for themselves, and thrive better than the man from this country, who has been all his life engaged in one branch of industry, and in that has had the co-operation of many trades preparing his tools and the materials for his work. Another advantage for emigration in that state of society which we in Britain have entirely outgrown, was, that the female half of the population contributed almost as much as the male half to the subsistence of a family, especially an emigrant family; and produced, by work in the household, what made or saved money. I should like to know if one emigrant father of an English family in ten thousand could say, in our days, to his wife and daughters:—"Here, my dears, I have brought you the fleeces of our score of sheep that I have been shearing this morning. You will take them and sort the wool, and card it, and spin it, and weave it, and waulk it, and dye it, and shape it, and sew it, and do all other needful operations with it, to make a coat for me, and petticoats for yourselves against winter; for it is not worth travelling a score miles to sell a few stones weight of wool to the merchant, and the price would go but a small way in buying our woollen clothing. And here, my dears, is our rig of flax just fit for pulling; you will turn to and pull it, bind it, steep it, rot it, skutch it, hackle it, spin it, weave it, bleach it; and if we have more linen than we need ourselves, we can sell a web or two of it to the town's-people." The mistress would probably reply:—"John, I never did any such work with wool or flax, and I don't know how it should be done. My grandmother, indeed, had all such work done in her family; and, besides, could brew, and bake, and make cheese, soap, candles, and a thousand things that I and my daughters never did, or saw done; because, long before my day, such house work went out of fashion in every family, high or low. Home-made cloth was too coarse for the poorest to wear, and cottons, and factory-made cloths of all kinds were finer, better, and cheaper. We can wash, sow, cook, make the beds, and sweep the house; but we never learnt to spin, or weave, or knit, or bleach, or dye, or do any work that brings in money; because the factory did all such work in England far better and cheaper than single-handed women."—Pp. 67—69.

The answer to such reasoning should be, that if we are a race absolutely requiring each other's co-operation to obtain the comforts of life, (as it is to be hoped we are, for such is the intention of man), we should emigrate together, that is we should *colonize*. The question does not affect emigration in the abstract, but the particular mode of carrying it out. There is no reason why division of labour should not become habitual in one part of the world as well as in another. However, we again express our agreement that emigration is futile as a means of lowering the population, even if that were desired; but its value must be maintained as an important means of adding a field to human energy, and thus to human happiness. It is for those who go, not for those who remain, that we would most desire emigration, and as at present we are more concerned with discussing the social state of the old world, we shall omit further consideration of new lands and newly formed people through the instrumentality of emigration.

We return, then, to the comparison between England with

the old system still retained, of an influential body of landed proprietors, as a third moral element between the governing power and the governed, and modern Europe; with that class swept away, leaving in its place a rather harsh and grating directness of communication throughout the whole social community. The comparison instituted by Mr. Laing is sound and correct in principle, but his preference for the English system carries him into rather exaggerated statements of the happiness, the comfort and the well-being of our poor. He draws a picture of every cottage deriving the greatest advantage from the high cultivation of useful sciences among us. The class below the enjoyment of our increased facility in procuring cheap clothes and food, he makes a small minority, a few dregs at the bottom of society, to be lamented over indeed, but patiently endured with as the inevitable fate of mankind. But is it so? He carries the same argument also into the condition of English morals. Immorality and severe poverty, he considers to be prominently brought forward by writers of statistics, or by the state of London in some localities, but this he denies to be any fair criterion of the mass of the working class among us, whom he pictures as living in neatness and cleanliness, with daily advantage from all the useful arts of life. Music or taste, or such unnecessary things, he does not claim for them, but he is satisfied that their physical condition is very high.

‘ If we compare these civilising tastes and the means to form and gratify them, of the common labouring man in England and on the Continent, the balance appears to be considerably in favour of our social state. Look into the dwelling of the English working man, who is earning the average wages of labour in regular employment, and how many articles we see for comfort, cleanliness, and home use and enjoyment, which we miss in the dwelling of the German or French labourer! We overlook them in England, because they are so common. We miss them abroad, because they are considered indispensable in the poorest English dwelling. The labouring man in England, although more ignorant, is more civilised by his tastes, habits, and wants, than the Continental man of the same station in life. His tastes, habits, and wants, are on a higher scale. His ignorance even is principally in matters without his own sphere of action; but in matters within it, in all that regards his own craft and business, he is more clever, acute, and knowing, than the much more highly educated man of the same trade abroad. If we approach the question nearer, and examine the means of gratifying the tastes and wants of civilised life, and the burdens which press upon those means in the social condition of the Continental and of the English working man, the balance of means, as well as of tastes for a state of well-being, appears considerably in favour of the latter. It is the common theme of foreign travellers who visit England, and of many superficial observers among ourselves, that the social state of the English nation is a monstrous junction of boundless wealth, extravagance, and luxury above, and of utter destitution, misery, and suffering below. They look only at the upper and lower strata of the social mass,

and do not perceive that all between the two is densely filled up with incomes and earnings of every amount and every fractional difference, from the highest, the thousands or tens of thousands a year, down to zero. There is no vacuum in the mass between the top and the bottom, as in the social state of the Continent.'—Pp. 295, 296.

Again, on the subject of morals, he is satisfied to pass over a few apparent obstacles to his advocated excellence of England, with remarks such as the following :—

'We hear much of the vice and profligacy of London, and the theme is not altogether new. *Nemo in ea sine crimine vivit*, said Richard of Devizes concerning London in the twelfth century. It is a standing-dish, like muffins and buttered toast, at the tea-table of every spinster who sits down with the curate and five serious ladies of fifty, to deplore the adulteration of Bohea and the moral depravity of mankind. The truth is, that the clergyman in his parish, the magistrate in his district, the overseer, constable, or police officer in his ward or walk, has an official propensity to describe his own circle of duty and action as among people the most vicious, depraved, and turbulent within the bills of mortality, the most difficult to be kept in order, sunk in ignorance, vice, and misery, every street teeming with thieves and abandoned women, and society only held together by his own unseen and not sufficiently appreciated wisdom and exertions. The statistical writer, too, and the legislator in small, are nothing loth to give the interest of enormity and magnitude to their statements of the vice and profligacy of the lower orders in London; and some of them lay it pretty thick on the public credulity.'—P. 276.

We wish, indeed, the facts of our poor population could be thus easily explained. Mr. Laing is right to a certain extent, enough so for his argument, but his zeal in drawing the comparison carries him beyond what is necessary. He will have England perfect when engaged on this subject, and forgets the evil resulting from those very things which in a former part of his book he much dwells on when discussing the division of land, such as the crowding together into towns, and the economy of labour in the cultivation of land. There is truth, we say, in this favourable estimate of the general benefit of English comforts and manufactures. There is an immense class, one on which the prosperity of our land depends, and which forms the characteristic of our social condition, respectable in morals and enjoying many advantages, and realizing the following description :—

'Our middle class householder will have of household goods about him, carpets, mahogany chairs, tables, chests of drawers, curtained beds, wash-hand stands, crockeryware in abundance, and good cutleryware; and in his stock of wearing apparel, shirts, drawers, stockings, handkerchiefs, and such articles, whether seen or unseen, in comfortable plenty. The continental man of the same middle class and means, will often be deficient in a good stock of the unseen habiliments, but will have a shirt pin, a chain, a ring, of quite as much value as all the articles of an Englishman's wardrobe put together. In his dwelling there may be a distressing deficiency of washhand basons, ewers, chamber-pots, mugs, bowls, dishes, but there

will be an elegant vase or ornament of porcelain, which has cost as much as all that we miss of earthenware for use and comfort would have done.'
—P. 122.

Large however as this class may be, and even granting that industry may almost invariably raise a working man to some participation in its privileges; yet, the numbers who cannot have the physical comforts which it is Mr. Laing's boast to make universal, are far too numerous to be passed over as the mere dregs, or to be only looked upon as objects of compassion—they being necessary elements to deal with in forming any system that would explain our social state as a nation. There is a blot in our polity, which does cause some to be very badly off indeed in the midst of great abundance. It may be necessary that such a stimulus to industry should exist as the visible misery of a careless life even to the third and fourth generation. But we have not to resign ourselves to such dispensations of Providence, as a ready excuse for want of compassion or exertion to procure relief. We must do good to others, and leave Providence to work out her immutable laws. This she does through us, but it is not our place to be self-appointed judges of what the practical effect of those laws in each particular should be. To give up a whole class to misery under this plea, is not allowable in the science of political economy. Such a process of excommunication is very extreme, and is only a plea in case of the most energetic and violent demonstration of vice. We shall not enter upon statistics, but appeal to each one's individual knowledge, both as to the comfort and morality of our poor, and as to the largeness of that class below any sensible enjoyment of those small comforts happily so cheap in this country. Look at agricultural districts where a large family depends on irregular work at sixteen-pence a day. Suppose, as a political economist must realize in order to be practical, that the man is helpless and the wife ignorant. What enjoyment of these boasted comforts have they? And is this an isolated case? Happily it is not the common position of our labourers, but it is the position of so many that they form an item of our social state. Moreover, where poverty exists in a country like this, it is more wretched, for the very reason that comforts are cheaply procured. Food and clothes are cheap, and in order that they may be so, everything is on the principle of hand to mouth, and no capital lies dormant as a reserve fund. In a more primitive and less cooperative age, each family, from the fact that they did many processes for themselves which now are done for them, had a certain stock generally on hand, that would carry them on for a short time through trouble or sickness. Take the item of clothing. Home-spun linen and thick

outer garments, are more expensive than calico for the dress of women and children, nor should we desire to see the neatness and cleanliness of modern costumes interfered with; but yet they have more wear in them, will last longer, and therefore are a sort of capital with which the possessor can go on for a long time, if circumstances prevent the acquisition of anything new: whereas, if the supply is stopped in the case of more fragile articles, the effect is immediate and rags soon appear. Dress is thus more equable throughout the whole class of poor in proportion to the solidity of the fabric used; and the very cause of superior neatness and cleanliness in those who are industrious and fortunate, is also the cause of extreme misery in others. If misfortune comes on when there is no stock of clothing but a few cotton articles, they soon decay and leave their wearers in a miserable plight. Extremes meet, and the present style of dress among the poor causes the greatest possible neatness, and also the most abject wretchedness in appearance. What is there more forlorn, more actually savage and barbarous to behold, than the rags of cotton dresses, and the whole costume of some creatures, that occasionally appear in the outlets of narrow alleys in some parts of London? There is a horror and a wildness about some of these inhabitants of proud and luxurious London—Mr. Laing's model of respectability—that would make it an heroic adventure to penetrate through some unknown regions of woe, after the squalid multitude have returned to their hiding-places from the occupations of the day. This remarkable aspect of London dress in its lowest stage has been made notorious by the very name of ragged being applied to the schools where the children of the poorest class assemble. Almost as wretched is the tattered appearance of some agricultural families. Tall, lanky girls, growing out of ragged print dresses, with huge old shoes, and every variety of size and of decay ruling in other parts of their costume, present a total, in some instances, (we speak, of course, of very exceptional cases,) that will vie in grotesqueness with the wild Indian without his romance. But this is not the only evil resulting from the fashions of modern dress among the poor, great, and prevailing as its advantages are. The facility of procuring great variety of patterns and colours far outruns all taste. The young women of agricultural districts in olden times, having but little choice, could learn from their instinctive art of dress, how to manage that small variety; they would become familiar, and consequently at home with the little changes that they were able to adopt. But in these days few sights are more wretched than to see the tasteless and helpless way in which smart things are heaped together, with neither

comeliness of form, nor the slightest aim at proprieties of colour. Nor can anything exceed the uncomfortable awkwardness of their wearers, who seem longing all the time to throw these things off, and assume the scrubbing costume of the previous day. To manage the variety of dress at present exposed to the choice of almost all, requires a considerable degree of taste; and if that taste is not speedily acquired, we fear that the confusion of mind resulting from the abandonment of old proprieties of dress, without success in a higher school of the art, will implant a settled untidiness and deficiency of taste in our national character.

But we have digressed from the point of a substantial fabric in dress, forming a capital, on which to go on for a time, undisturbed by temporary deprivation. Many other things besides dress are open to the same argument. Furniture, and the whole arrangement of the houses of the poor, are neat to those who can keep them so; but, when poverty really pinches, there is soon not a chair, or table, or door, or window, but creaks and gives away, and tumbles to pieces, and represents a most uncomfortable home; whereas an older state of house arrangements would have lasted through long troubles, and afforded comfort to those, who now find food and raiment and every thing forsaking them together. Pottery, of which Mr. Laing says much, is certainly a most superior material from which to eat a dinner, to wooden bowls; but pottery soon breaks, whereas the latter will continue, when nothing but a broken edge of the former can be found.

With regard to the complacency with which Mr. Laing and other writers smoothe down the national character of England, as containing not only those good qualities which all allow it, and which are apparent, but also every other good and useful ingredient of man's better nature, though perhaps under a veil, and not very perceptible; we would appeal to many convictions that experienced authorities have arrived at, not very favourable to that faultless model which is represented. But our object is not to under-rate the English character, or take a low view of the superior comforts which the English enjoy above foreign countries; it is only, as a passing notice, to remind the readers of Mr. Laing, that our side of the picture is not without its blots, and, that however large the class who enjoy the benefit of his eloquently described sunshine of pots and calicos, yet, there are exceptions, which exceptions are, perhaps, more wretchedly deficient of physical proprieties, than a corresponding class in the continental picture. The argument however, in spite of these considerations, stands quite firm enough for Mr. Laing's conclusions. The amount of civilised comforts is very great,

and widely extended in England, but we would not also draw the conclusion, that if we are superior to continental habits in this respect, we are therefore to despise the taste for beauty and art, so prevalent among the French and Germans. For reasons already stated, we require an improvement in this respect, in order to take advantage of the profusion of material put in our way. It is to be remembered that our advantages are not of long growth, as they are the fruits principally of steam power, and therefore that we have not shown the practicability of using an abundance of manufactured articles without reference to taste, and simply with a view to comfort. This has yet to be proved, and the general effort now being made to improve design, and cultivate generally a love of art, does, we think, show a well-grounded opinion that some guiding principle of taste is much needed, to keep in order the exuberance of mechanical contrivances. 'Art is like a prudent steward, that lives on managing the riches of nature.' Many who *encourage* art, do indeed themselves ascribe but a small province to its usefulness; but, as long as the work is being done, we see cheering prospects of great social improvements to arise from it, whatever view may now be taken. Great abundance of material, great facility of ornament not under the direction of good taste, (which as a science of social life branches out in all the fine arts,) constitutes vulgarity—vulgarity, that is, of mind, equally to be found in all classes. This vulgarity arises from a confused state of mind, unable to have an intellectual command over personal arrangements gathered around us, so that all things may be proportioned one to another in proper quantities, and in harmonized relations. The want of this art is the fruitful cause of extravagance and general irregularity of mind, and is generally deteriorating to the character. Many evils arise from the want of art, as well as beneficial results from its cultivation as a polite exercise of the mind, and a wholesome occupation of time. With disagreements on points such as these, we can nevertheless safely place much reliance on Mr. Laing's observations of the social condition of England, compared with the continent, and with him ascribe much of our happiness to the success of England in rounding a point of universal History, on which many other nations have been stranded, she having thereby gained a start in the race of time. England maintains the middle class of independent property, whereas in other countries it has disappeared as the foundation of the governing power. No country in the world ever exhibited a more perfect theory of social life than ourselves, as far as means and physical opportunities are concerned; and it is well we should appreciate our

position, for it may be doubted if all take advantage of it, show proper contentment for it, or zeal in its defence.

The English constitution disguises the severity of law under a fatherly discipline. This principle not only appears in head quarters, as a paternal regimen admits not of unlimited centralization, for it implies a certain range, within which personal influences may be felt. Thus the personal and parental authority of the Crown does not only use *written law* for the implementations of its will, but it is represented in its personal character; an independent item of itself is allotted to every degree of authority depending on a royal commission. Even the judges themselves, who have to deal only with direct appeals to the law, do not hold merely an official secretaryship, to carry out the law with the mechanical irresponsibility of a railway clerk; but they *personally* represent the Crown, and have the outward semblance of royal dignity attached to them, which would obviously be out of place on the mechanical theory. Again, in the case of magistrates, though justice is administered by them in a less formal manner, still the necessity for a certain local character in a magistrate, with a high qualification of property, and the disinterested object for which he acts, does most completely represent the personal care and protection supposed to reside in the Crown. A magistrate is an independent free agent, he has elbow room for a large exercise of personal influence and discretion in his legal position. He is not made ostentatiously the slave of parliament, but he has authority given as if for the exercise of his own supposed innate sense of right, although safeguards of course are at hand to check, with a visitorial power, any mistake he falls into. From the magistrate, look to those officials, who, from the necessity of the case, are immediate servants of the crown, acting by no delegated authority, but doing certain work according to the letter of their instructions, such for instance as tax-gatherers. How quietly and unobtrusively do these unwelcome guests perform their work, invested with no state ceremonials, or anything to remind the public of their existence beyond what is necessary! The authority which is prominently put before English subjects, is always a personal delegation of royal power, not a physical and irresponsible acting on orders given. An exception to this rule may be adduced in the army; but the position which the military hold in our constitution, only proves the point at issue more fully. In the first place, the army is supposed to be immediately attached to the Crown, in the character of personal attendants to represent its dignity and strength: and in the second place, it is not placed at all in connexion with acts of

parliament, nor does it interfere with private concerns, and is practically kept in absolute distinctness from civil affairs. These last affairs are left to the police, who have no acknowledged political *status* in our constitution. Freedom and liberty for the exercise of individual powers, both intellectual and moral, is the principle of our law. Our motions are not interfered with by police through any inquisitorial process, such as the passport system, or the *octroi* duty, and our consciences are not restrained otherwise than in a fatherly manner, or on very special occasions.

If such is the freedom of individuals, corporate bodies also enjoy the same by an equally binding charter of rights. They are not mechanical instruments of government any more than individuals. They have a power of free-will within themselves, and have a sphere of action wherein certain influence is allowed, as if responsible to no earthly authority,—for the visitatorial power only comes in when that sphere is transgressed. This freedom of action is alike pleasant to live under, and philosophically correct as a principle of political economy; for, by it are enlisted a much larger range of human sympathies, and, therefore, of human energies in the great work of carrying on the affairs of a community, than is at all practicable under direct and absolute authority. The latter principle has no appeal to a large part of our nature, and therefore is wasteful of our powers.

This direct and constant superintendence of continental governments over the whole community, is illustrated in various ways by Mr. Laing. Starting from the condition of landed property, he first explains, as we have already considered, the absence of an independent middle class. The subdivision of land, and the small taste for those domestic comforts, which in England employ so many hands to supply, is then shown to have the effect of throwing on the world at large an immense number of young men, either waiting till their small inheritance comes to them, or without any expectations whatever; yet, with no advantageous employment—a burden thus on their neighbours. It follows from this, that such a state of society is necessarily warlike; for the material of war is always at hand in this unoccupied class of young men; and it also follows that, in one form or another, this same restless, irresponsible, active-minded, yet idle class, are the middle influence between government and people. In part, they are the middle influence, as forming a civil army of functionaries, and the military force as well, through the Landwehr system, and partly because their general position gives them great opportunities of exciting discontent. They are a terror to government in disturbed times, as readily as they are servile officials and expectants in peace.

We will first explain this with reference to the Landwehr system. The Prussian army is most differently constituted to the English, inasmuch as it is not a separate interest, but it is the whole population, and so far traces its origin to feudal times, with the important difference, that in those times, the barons were sufficiently independent to prevent their serfs being entirely at the call of a central government :

'The Prussian army consists of regiments of the line, or standing troops. This is considered the formation-school of the military force or army of the whole population of the country. Every male, without exception, in the whole population is bound to serve three years, between his twentieth and his twenty-fifth years, as a private in the ranks of a regiment of the line. The only exceptions are cases of bodily infirmity, and the clergy, school-masters, only sons of widows, and a few others; and the liability to serve is rather suspended than altogether abandoned by government in those exceptions. Property, rank, occupation, business, give no claim to exemption, and no substitutes or *remplaçants* are accepted of, as in the French conscription system. Every man must serve as a private in the ranks of a regiment of the line, whatever be his social position. The only allowance made is, that young men of property or of the higher classes and professions, who provide their own clothing, arms, and equipment at their own expense, may be permitted to serve in certain rifle or chasseur corps for one year only, instead of three, on a petition with sufficient reasons given for the indulgence required. After the three years' service in the line, the young man is turned over to his district Landwehr regiment of the *ersten Aufgeboth*, or, as we would call it, first for service. This division of the Landwehr force is considered the proper army; the troops of the line being its formation-school. It is liable, like the standing army, to serve in or out of the country; but in time of peace to save expense it is only embodied for manœuvre and exercise for a few weeks yearly. Its staff only is in constant pay. The division of the second *Aufgeboth*, or second for service, consists of all who have served their three years in the line, and their two years in the Landwehr of the first *Aufgeboth*, and are under forty years of age. These are considered trained soldiers, and men settled in occupations, and are therefore, in time of peace, only assembled in small divisions, and in their own localities, for a few days' exercise. The Landsturm consists of all not in the service, or discharged from it by the completion of their terms of service in the other divisions; and it is mustered and organized as well as the other divisions of the Landwehr force. The principle of the system is, that every Prussian subject, without exception, shall pass through a military training of three years, in the ranks of a regiment of the line, and shall then be available during his whole life as a trained soldier, in one or other of the divisions of the Landwehr force, according to his age and fitness for any military duty. A whole nation, with scarcely the exception of a single able-bodied man, and without exemption of class or station, passing through a military training of three years in the ranks of regiments of the line, and then formed into regiments from which, when engaged in civil occupations, the men are only as it were on furlough, or like soldiers in cantonments, and are called together, mustered, and exercised for several weeks in field manœuvres, gives an imposing impression of this military force. The perfection also of all the arrangements of this vast and complicated system, and the general fairness, impartiality, and economy with which it is worked, must raise the admiration of every traveller who inquires about the Landwehr. But is it a good military system? Is it a good social system?

'The military and social results are so blended together that they cannot be separately considered. The whole nation is an army; the army is not merely a class in the nation, more or less numerous according to the financial resources and political position of the state. The first observation that will occur to the social economist, on the slightest consideration of the Landwehr system, is that the system counteracts its own object. Here is an immense army on paper; but the means to move this immense army is in an inverse ratio to its numbers. The means of the state to bring this vast body of trained soldiers, or any considerable portion of them, into the field in actual warfare, are the financial resources of the country; money being the sinews of war. But the financial resources of every country depend upon the productive industry of the people, out of which alone taxes to the state proceed; and if the productive industry of the people be diminished by three years of their time and labour being taken up in military service, by so much is the means of the state to move this vast force in military operations diminished. The productive as well as the military time of life of the industrious man begins about twenty, and ends about fifty years of age. These thirty years are his capital stock; and whatever he contributes, directly or indirectly, to the finances of the state, must be earned within these thirty years, by the application of his time and labour to some kind of productive industry. If one-tenth of this time be taken from him, and consumed in military services, he is so much poorer, and the state is so much poorer. The indirect loss to both is probably as great as the direct loss; for a man cannot turn at once from the habits of military life to the habits of steady industry, and to the sedentary occupations of civil life. If he has gone through an apprenticeship, and learned a trade, before beginning his three years' service in a regiment, he must almost have to learn it over again after three years' disuse of his working tools and working habits. He can never become an expert quick workman in any handicraft. But besides his three years of continuous service at the age most important to form the habits of a working man, his time is broken in upon and his habits deranged every year by his military service of six or eight weeks in his Landwehr regiment. One-sixth probably of his working year is consumed before he can return to his working habits. All this is a dead loss to the state, as well as to the individual. It diminishes the capability of the aggregate body of individuals—the nation—to furnish the taxes necessary to move the numbers embodied and kept up as a Landwehr, in any military operation. If every war were, like that of 1813-15, a war to shake off the oppression of a foreign invader, in which every interest and feeling was roused to a mighty and enthusiastic effort to drive the oppressors across the Rhine, and in which English subsidies furnished to Prussia and the Continental powers the financial means for military operations, the Landwehr system might be the best and most suitable; but it appears a mistaken policy to continue in time of peace a military organization of the whole people, adapted only to the extreme and rarely occurring case of a struggle on the native soil, with the aid of foreign financial means, for property and all that men hold dear, and to establish it as the ordinary state of the whole population in time of peace and when the exigence is past in which it arose.

'The Landwehr system is probably a great mistake in military as well as social policy. Three years' continuous service in the ranks of a regiment may, no doubt, be quite sufficient to form the soldier in all that regards drill, manœuvre, appearance, and what may be called the bodily or physical attainments; but what is of more importance, the *morale* of the soldier, his habits, mind, character, if formed, cannot be kept up in civil life after his three years of service expire. He may go through all his military

exercises and duties of his new Landwehr regiment, during the six weeks it is embodied, as well as ever; but the soul and spirit of military life, the tie between soldier and officer, the knowledge of and confidence in each other, the tie of comradeship between soldier and soldier, the ties of attachment to the corps, its character, its honour, its colours, cannot be formed, or kept up if formed, by six weeks' parade and review exercise. The regiments of the line even, by their connexion with the Landwehr as its formation school, must be composed of a shifting soldiery, three-fourths of them either recruits in their first or second years' service, or men about leaving the regiment for ever, and returning, at the end of three years of service, to their homes and civil occupations.'—Pp. 239—244.

An army with political and great social influence, independent of its superior physical strength as a body of armed men, is most dangerous to liberty, and subversive of all true government. It was the imperial army that governed Rome, and the Prussian and French armies have assumed a tone of authority of late years, which threatens to hinder those countries for some time to come from attaining any great amount of social freedom.

Under a system such as the Landwehr the whole army may be classed as functionaries of the state; but the civil officers in every compartment are a special grievance, from the prominence into which they are brought, in consequence of being the only connecting link between the top and bottom of society. We refer however to Mr. Laing:—

'The Continental sovereigns, after the peace, and settlement of Europe in 1816, appear to have felt, as by a common instinct, that their kingly power was in a false position in the new social state which the general diffusion of landed property had produced. It wanted a barrier and a support. They all attempted, as by common accord, to create a third element in the social structure, and to replace the class of nobles possessing large landed property with more or less of the social influence belonging to such property, by substituting functionarism for aristocracy as a support of their thrones. A numerous body, a civil army of functionaries organized, and in subordination to chiefs of various departments, was quartered, like a military body, all over the country, although not required for any useful purpose or public benefit. Every imaginable and real social interest, religion, education, law, police, every branch of public or private business, personal liberty to move from place to place, even from parish to parish within the same jurisdiction, liberty to engage in any branch of trade or industry on a small or large scale, all the objects, in short, in which body, mind, and capital can be employed in civilised society, were gradually laid hold of for the employment and support of functionaries, were centralised in *bureaux*, were superintended, licensed, inspected, reported upon, and interfered with by a host of officials scattered over the land and maintained at the public expense, yet with no conceivable utility in their duties. They are not, however, gentlemen at large, enjoying salary without service. They are under a semi-military discipline. In Bavaria, for instance, the superior civil functionary can place his inferior functionary under house-arrest, for neglect of duty, or other offence against civil functionary discipline. In Würtemberg, the functionary cannot marry without leave from his superior. Voltaire says, somewhere, that, "the art of govern-

ment is to make two-thirds of a nation pay all it possibly can pay for the benefit of the other third." This is realised in Germany by the functionary system. The functionaries are not there for the benefit of the people, but the people for the benefit of the functionaries. All this machinery of functionarism, with its numerous ranks and gradations in every district, filled with a staff of clerks and expectants in every department looking for employment, appointments, or promotions, was intended to be a new support of the throne in the new social state of the Continent; a third class, in close connection with the people by their various official duties of interference in all public or private affairs, yet attached by their interests to the kingly power. The *Beamtensstand*, or functionary class, was to be the equivalent to the class of nobility, gentry, capitalists, and men of larger landed property than the peasant-proprietors, and was to make up in numbers for the want of individual weight and influence. In France, at the expulsion of Louis Philippe, the civil functionaries were stated to amount to 807,030 individuals. This civil army was more than double of the military. In Germany, this class is necessarily more numerous in proportion to the population, the Landwehr system imposing many more restrictions than the conscription on the free action of the people, and requiring more officials to manage it, and the semi-feudal jurisdictions and forms of law requiring much more writing and intricate forms of procedure before the courts, than the Code Napoleon.

In every state, in modern times, functionaries are necessarily numerous. The collection of the public revenue alone requires a little army of them. But we would be rather surprised to hear our own *Beamtensstand*, our collectors, comptrollers, assessors, tidewaiters, gaugers, considered as a high and influential class in our social body, or considered as a class at all in any way distinct from the respectable middle class in which they are merged. In Prussia it is different. The kingdom is made up of provinces torn from other powers; and to reduce the local influence of the nobles or great landholders, it was always the principle of the state to bring them into the civil or military service, to merge them into the functionary class.' —Pp. 183—186.

The eloquence of Mr. Laing warms into indignation, whenever the functionary system is introduced. Its exposure and condemnation are the objects of his book, and a well-founded apprehension, no doubt, of our falling into some of its snares, is one motive of the labour he takes to impress the obnoxious character of this system on the English public.

'The direct effects of functionarism have undoubtedly reduced the people of Germany to a state of pupillage. Independent action is so little thought of that it may be doubted whether, if they had a parliament, they could use it and produce any practical measure of reform in their social state, without functionary guidance. They are not accustomed to act for themselves. The indirect effects of the system have deteriorated the character and retarded the industry and prosperity of the German people, as much as its direct working on the social body. The numbers of small functionaries provided for at the public expense, in the departments of the law, the finance, the Church, the educational affairs, the police, the Landwehr establishment, the passport establishment, and all the other branches of public business springing from the principle of the state's interference in all social and individual action, keep almost the whole youth of the country in a state of dependence upon favour for an appointment in some public office, instead of depending upon industry and exertion in the useful arts or

occupations. Every second or third young man in the middle class is an expectant of office. The father of a family in any thriving line of business or trade, whose sons might with advantage be tradesmen, manufacturers, or merchants, with the little capital he could give them, and who in the same social position with us, would undoubtedly put out his sons in some branch of industry, sends them, almost invariably, to study at a university in order to be qualified for office. After the bread-studies, as they are called in Germany, are gone through, the young man hangs on, often for many years, an idle expectant on office, and may possibly get some employment at last in a government *bureau*, at a salary which can only help to maintain him, along with the little allowance the father can afford him. A great proportion of the small capitals gathered by tradesmen, shopkeepers, farmers, functionaries, clergymen, and others in the middle station of life, is thus expended without being utilised. The same capitals with us would be applied to extending the business in which they were acquired, or in placing the sons in some similar business. Such small beginnings of saved capital are with us the foundations of almost all the commercial and manufacturing prosperity of eminent individuals, and of the acuteness of mind and the judgment which produce that prosperity. Here, in Germany, these beginnings of capital are applied to supporting the sons at a university, half-students, half-vagrants, for many idle years; and then in supporting them in some inferior office in a state department, until, by seniority, favour, or merit, a higher step is attained with a salary on which the functionary can subsist. The prospect of office in the vast functionary system turns away the industry and capital that might be employed with more advantage to the country and the individual in the humbler paths of trade.—Pp. 198, 199.

One advantage supposed to follow from the functionary system, is the general diffusion of a good education, as residence at a university is a necessary qualification for any government appointment. This point introduces a subject of great interest at the present time, viz. the whole system of government education and government interference with universities; of the latter, we must say a few words which may also apply to the former, as it will not come in our way to enter upon so large a field of enquiry, otherwise than in the general theory of public education, of which in Germany the universities take the lead.

German universities are entirely government institutions, training schools for government functionaries; and, as functionaries are of such vast power in the German system, it follows that the universities have an extraordinary political influence of a direct and immediate nature as the guides and instructors of the spirit that is to rule the whole middle power of society. It is the intention indeed of universities to direct the tone of society; but there are two ways of doing this, a direct and an indirect way. Whatever brings the university forward into the active arena of politics in connexion with the vicissitudes of government is of the former kind, while the latter aims at an independent spirit, a *genius loci*—a life of its

own, a beginning, middle, and end, an exhibition of tendencies and phases of the human mind, of differences of character, a field of trials to the mind both from prosperity and adulation, and also from difficulties and contempt. Nor only is a university the exhibition and the trial of such and such things, it also manifests the end and result of them. It mimicks for the wisdom of its students, a much larger system of rewards and punishment of advancement and ruin. A certain kind of retirement from the active world is essential to promote these ends, a retirement of situation, of constitution, of life, and habits.

Mr. Laing does not understand the principle of an English University, and appears to imagine that their advantages over the German are from the absence of this state of things which we thus commend. He describes Scotch Universities, and in comprehending the English ones in the same comparison, does not state that Oxford, in outward constitution, is more like the German than the Scotch. Speaking of these last, he says:—

‘The young men have no doubt their clubs, meetings, debating societies, and spout, harangue, and rave over their whisky-toddy about the rights of man and republican institutions, talk politics, talk treason sometimes, and discuss the first principles of government and the duty of immolating tyrants on the altar of liberty, and would all be Brutuses if they could find Cæsars, as well as the young lads at the German universities. How is it that our government finds no danger in all this youthful bluster? and that the young men at our universities form no distinct corps, no peculiar body dangerous to the state, like the German *Burschenschaft*? It is simply because they are not made a distinct corps of, are not considered of any importance, and therefore are of none; are obliged to conduct themselves like other people under the common law and police of the land, and are punished for offences by the same laws and tribunals and in the same way as other people. In Germany, the *senatus academicus* of each university has a distinct jurisdiction over the students. They are amenable to, and tried and punished only by their academical judges, who have powers, independent of the ordinary civil courts, to punish them for civil or police transgressions, by fine, arrest, imprisonment, for which there is a special academical prison in each university, and by rustication or total expulsion. The students live under a different judicature even for offences against the public peace, are distinct from the ordinary courts of the country, and consequently they form a distinct body from the rest of the people. But the judges in these academical courts, the professors, depend for their incomes, or means of living, although not entirely, yet very much, on the number of students who take out tickets for their courses of lectures. They are not individually in a position to be over severe in their sentences, or they might next session be themselves the parties living on bread and water. They might have no hearers and no fees. The *senatus* also naturally consider, that if their university got the reputation of being very strict and rigorous, the preference would be given by students to some other university, in which the judicature was more lax; and the number of students, their own profits, and the character of their university would be diminished. All this absurd arrangement of a police within a police, and a distinct body like a military class, but without military

discipline or an effective judicature to keep it in order, falls away in our common-sense arrangement, by which the student is subject to the same law and tribunal as other young men in the town; and whatever academical punishment the professors may inflict, will certainly be fined or sent to Bridewell for any offence or breach of the peace, by the ordinary judge, along with the journeymen tailors or shoemakers who may have taken part in the fray.—Pp. 220—222.

Mr. Laing cannot be aware that Oxford and Cambridge have university police, university law, (very arbitrary sometimes to popular eyes,) and university Courts; nay, that the High Steward of the University has the power of capital punishment equally with civil judges, although a crime likely to merit such an extreme would in all probability be handed over for trial and judgment to common law. Further explanation of the supposed effects of the same system in Germany is thus given. There is much truth in what is said, and a certain evil is well grasped, but not in the right place.

‘ Absurd as it may appear on a superficial view, that in a population of forty millions of people some ten or twelve thousand lads, scattered in seventeen universities, should give uneasiness and arouse the watchful jealousy of the German sovereigns about their opinions, the absurdity vanishes and the great importance of this element in the social state of Germany appears in its full magnitude, on a nearer approach. Out of this body of ten or twelve thousand *Burschen*, living from boyhood to manhood as a distinct body from the rest of their fellow-subjects, accumulating in numbers yearly, and renewed every five or six years by a new swarm, must be replenished all the civil functionaries who are to advise the sovereigns, guide the state affairs, administer the law, conduct the business of government, and educate the succeeding generation in the schools and universities. It is the great social evil in Germany, that men are called from this ill-educated body—ill-educated for all practical social business—to administer laws which they never obeyed, or saw the working of on the various interests of society, and are called out of the narrow prejudiced circle of student life and functionary life in the universities and *bureaux*, to legislate in the cabinets of the German sovereigns, on subjects and interests which they never, as private men, entered into or understood. They have had no opportunity of understanding the business of their fellow-citizens, of the *Philister*, as the student and functionary call those who have not been *Burschen* or functionaries; and they have lived and been bred up, not only in ignorance of, and non-intercourse with them, but with antagonistic feelings and prejudices against them. This is the root of much misgovernment in Germany. It is in reality a lay Jesuitism. What were the Jesuits? Men bred up from boyhood in a separated exclusive conventual life, ignorant consequently of the wants and interests of society from which they were professionally cut off, yet influencing and governing society in its most important interests and objects, by the power which their religious connection with princes, courts, and cabinet-ministers gave them in all political affairs. German functionarism is this Jesuitism minus the religious element. The functionary class in Germany, the *Beamtenstand*, are men bred from boyhood to manhood in the schools, universities, and *bureaux*, with a distinct spirit and character, distinct privileges, ideas, habits, and modes of living and thinking, from the rest of the community;

and with distinct laws, judicatures, punishments, rewards, and motives of action. They are transplanted from this university life, as different from the life of the rest of society as if they had been bred up in a Jesuits' college; and, from *Burschen* they become *employés* in the inferior offices of the state departments, rising by favour or merit to functions of more or less importance. They are naturally and necessarily imbued with that *esprit de corps*, that class spirit, which regards the people as existing rather for the support of functionaries, than functionaries for the service of the people. They have never lived with the people, or had common interests or feelings with the mass of the social body whom they are placed over. The heads of departments, the cabinet ministers, and the lower officials, or expectants in the state *bureaux*, and in all the legislative, administrative, and executive machinery of the state, are men formed alike in this conventional school in which theory is abundant and actual acquaintance with the wants of society is necessarily rare and imperfect. They have mixed with the rest of the community only as students, expectants on office, or as officials, not as equals partaking in common interests, opinions, and views. They are, to the mass of the population of Germany, what the civil and military functionaries of the East India Company are to the population of Hindostan.—Pp. 222—224.

The real evil of the German universities, as elsewhere exposed, is the immediate connexion between them and the passing whims of temporary powers. They hang on the ministry of the day through a direct ramification of government officials within themselves, and the Students themselves are expectants of office, and hangers-on till they get something. They do not go to the university as a place of education, so much as to acquire that showy kind of exterior knowledge, which is most likely to tell in the competition for office. They mingle in political events, and adopt the dignified style of professorial lectures as the basis of education, rather than as a proper method of adding grace and ornament to the foundation laid in a tutorial system, or as giving instruction in some high branch of learning not generally essential, or for any other reason more suitable to be included in the work of professors.

German universities, again, are universities, but have not colleges within them exercising discipline of a domestic character. There is consequently unlimited range for an early development of full-grown habits and manners of thought. This leads to many extravagances of taste, in such things as dress and amusements as well as in studies and philosophical theories. English universities are not perfect in their present operation, but having the elements of reform within themselves, and having in great and beautiful preservation their independent governments and their scholastic character, they are capable of prodigious influence, not as directing, but as giving wisdom to those who afterwards will in many ways have influence in all public affairs. The method of reform most advisable, is not our province now to discuss, but thus much we will say: that many

of the complaints against their present working systems have truth in them, not because of the mediæval character of the universities, but because of their departure from the original stamp. The agitation about professors may simply and amply be met by giving new life to the professorships already existing, and adding such others as the age of the world we live in seems to require, in consistency with the same idea that founded the older ones. Thus geology and modern languages may reasonably have professors, and their appointment is carrying out the original idea. But let them stand in the same position as the professorships of old, for they no more interfere with the substratum of university education, than ancient sciences. Much talk, again, is made about modern history and political economy. Without discussing the merits of such important studies in a university, we should suggest two things; that an abstracted study of ancient history for three years, at the age of a university career, is more likely to make a modern historian in future life than a confused mixture of ancient and modern, or exclusive attention to modern. On the same principle, a political economist, to be worth any attention, must have a wide range of knowledge and principles of action. These he had best acquire from Aristotle and other ancient writers before he turns his mind to passing events. On both these pursuits, therefore, our forefathers have left to the Universities the very system for their encouragement which common sense would require in the present days. Again, the other suggestion we would make, is on the impossibility of learning every thing in three years. Can ancient and modern information, historical, philosophical, ornate, or scientific, be epitomized in three years? Can things be stuffed into the human brain, as hay is packed by an hydraulic press for exportation, or as a superabundance of apparel is forced into the compass of a small portmanteau by violent kicking and stamping? The brain, when forced, adopts one of two courses; it goes mad under the task, and breaks forth from all command, either by actual insanity, or by an unfortunate application of reasoning powers; or it wisely declines the burden, and assumes an obstinate resistance to any impression whatever. The former alternative is well known, but many are not sufficiently aware of the immense power which the human mind has of refusing knowledge, of training itself, and disciplining itself to reject any sort of information, and rebel against any adaptation of itself to foreign system or habits of thought. This discipline itself often forms a character, *lucus a non lucendo*. How many schoolboy and university men have a character for stupidity, and certainly learn no information, yet develop ultimately into strong-minded men of great

original talent. Education of the mind must begin with some prominent element of simplicity, some wholeness of an object to be accomplished. The mind must not be launched out into the indefiniteness and immensity of real life and the vast range of all literary pursuits. Classical languages, the mental exercise in mastering their machinery, and subsequently the depth and truth of the philosophy and history thereby conveyed together with the purity of taste, are a wonderful means of accomplishing this end. Simplicity is thus effected, not by rendering the objects of study unreal, shallow, or artificial, but by confining their boundaries within a wall that shuts out for a time the confusion of passing events.

The same may be said of mathematics as an exercise of mental powers. The correspondence of principle in this respect between these two branches of study, may explain a greater similarity in their results than abstractedly could be expected. Classical and mathematical education are the very antipodes, but they agree in the simplicity of affording a certain wholeness of object to the student's ambition, in consequence of their abstracted character; and although great differences no doubt result, yet the success of both may show that, considering the contrariant nature of them, that point which they have in common is an important element of education.

German universities, however, do not neglect classics, but they take from them their singleness of object; and, therefore, the simplicity we ascribe to that system of education is wanting, and the result we find also deficient. Their students may read the ancients, but they take part also in the affairs of modern time. The element of seclusion is not preserved, and therefore the peculiar advantages which our universities exhibit over the German, would appear to arise more from that element held in connexion with classics, than from the study of classics themselves, or from any greater freedom from peculiar privileges in constitution as before referred to. But Mr. Laing's argument is, that the German universities err in having too secluded—too *Jesuitical* a principle. This seclusion, however, he is most ready to tell us in other places is but one-sided. They may be wanting in sympathy with the mass of the people, but they are open enough above on the functionary principle of the universities being schools for government offices.

To English universities as distinguished from either German or Scotch in the system of education, Mr. Laing pays the following tribute:—

‘ Education in Germany, as in Scotland, is different in its principle from education in England. What do the English people mean when they send their boys, at ten years of age, to eminent schools, and in due time to

Oxford or Cambridge, and then bring them home at twenty-three or twenty-four years of age, to enter on their future professions or paths of life, whatever these may be, according to their prospects or fortunes? Do these English parents act wisely or foolishly? What a silly ignorant lad their young man appears to be, with his prosody or his algebra, his *longs* and *shorts*, or his *plus* and *minus*, his mathematics or his Greek and Latin, and with his fine fellows, his reading men, or his sporting men of his college! What a foolish figure he cuts beside a Continental or a Scotch lad of the same age, from the universities, who knows something of half a dozen sciences, something of half a dozen languages, has some knowledge of chemistry, natural philosophy, political economy, metaphysics, talks well on geology, and all the fashionable speculations of the day, and is acquainted with history, literature, and politics, and is master of many gentlemanly accomplishments! But wait a little. Take the two young men some ten or twelve years afterwards. The German or Scotch lad is, in general, still where he was at nineteen, still but a lad in mind, still a babbler on the surface of every subject. The English-bred lad has gone to his profession or to his station in private or public life with very little positive knowledge to show for his education, but with a mind well exercised, although, perhaps, on very useless or foolish things, and capable of a severe and intense application to the subject before it; and just, perhaps, because it has been exercised and trained on things dull, dry, and unattractive, and which require patient thinking, or indeed mental drudgery, to acquire them. What have been the most serious studies of the Scotch or German-bred student, are now his relaxations. He gathers in, hand over hand, the popular branches of knowledge, the modern languages, and the more abstruse sciences. These are not fatiguing studies to a mind trained to patient application and thinking. In law, in political affairs, in commerce and ordinary business, he enters with intellectual powers which seem almost intuitively to grasp the right views and the necessary knowledge of the subject before him. The two men, at thirty years of age, are prodigiously different.—Pp. 213—215.

We will sum up the consideration of the university question by the following general remarks on the political influence of German students:—

‘If not the interests of sciences, the much higher objects, the peace, order, and well-being of society, require the abolition of the present system of German universities, by which the youth, the public functionaries, the whole legislative and administrative machinery of the state and education of the people, and the public opinion itself, are trained and moulded into theoretical and exaggerated views of the real affairs of life, by a *clique* of visionary professors, who have in reality the formation of the mind of every human being susceptible of education, from the child’s at a day school to the statesman’s in the cabinet of their sovereign, entirely in their hands. Free trade in education is even more necessary than in commercial or manufacturing affairs, for the stability of modern governments and the true liberty of the people. What was the cause of the commotions in Germany in 1848, but the exaggerated doctrines and speculations of the universities spread over, inculcated, indoctrinated into all the educated classes of the community? and what is the cause of the utter failure of this movement in 1849, even when it had the power, at Frankfort, to establish rational liberty and constitutional government throughout Germany, but the false education of the public mind and opinion, through the universities, in favour of theories not attainable, or, if attainable, of doubtful advantage?

The benefit of the collision of opinion against opinion, of the views of one great mass of population being opposed by those of another mass, and the folly of each being neutralised before public opinion is formed and fixed, is altogether wanting in Germany; because all opinion is issued, ready made and of the same stuff and fashion, from the universities, and all men in every station come out clothed in it. Germany never can be a free country until education is free. A score or two of obscure visionaries at the universities will set the public opinion to any tune they please. Would science suffer, would knowledge be extinguished, and would mankind wander in darkness if the universities of Berlin, Bonn, Jena, Munich, Göttingen, Heidelberg, and a dozen others, were entirely abolished? It does not appear that England is behind Germany in scientific attainments. Philosophy, legislation, political economy, history, poetry, law, mathematics, chemistry, in short all the branches of the tree of knowledge, seem tolerably well loaded with fruit, every year, in the garden of England. But the gardeners are not bred exclusively at Oxford or Cambridge; education is free, is acquired from thousands of different sources; and false views in religion, politics, philosophy, social economy, or in physical science, are at once detected and exposed by those educated in different views and by different means; and the public opinion is not formed on the abstract philosophy of any lectures inapplicable to present and existing realities, but on a comparison and balance of opinions from men educated under various circumstances and systems, and from various quarters.'—Pp. 216-218.

The German character generally is a prolific subject for Mr. Laing's pen. He does not like Germans, and takes a peculiar pleasure in representing the unfavourable side of their manners and habits. We have heard of a concise traveller summing up the result of his observations on the manners and customs of some remote part of the world with saying, 'As for manners they have none, and their customs are very beastly.' Mr. Laing would appear to take a similar view of Germans. Now it is easy to form a general theory against any national constitution, and then bring forward every objectionable phase of character to confirm that theory. We do not indeed dispute Mr. Laing's conclusion in many respects; but on abstract principles, we look on it as a matter of regret and painful consideration, that there is so much truth in what he says; for the German character contains much to admire, especially in some points where our own deficiency cannot but be acknowledged. It suits indeed Mr. Laing's theory to undervalue this very superiority we refer to, and therefore he rejoices to exhibit its small influence over manners compared with the love of commonplace things, those eternal kettles and prints that dwell so close to his heart. The Germans are an imaginative people, and let us give them credit for those things in which they excel us. They are full of deep feeling, closely bound together by local associations, and wonderfully endowed with those faculties of mind which adorn the habits of civilized life and give interest to society. All these things may be nothing to some people, but we cannot but confess that English society would do well to

admire what it cannot emulate. It is a mystery how a certain grossness should nevertheless be conspicuous through these powers of high cultivation. There is a moral and religious failing which prevents them from turning their genius to the encouragement of practical and common-place proprieties, but we should be sorry to draw from them an argument against the advantages of the poetical and thoughtful qualities of the human mind in the mass of a people. It is not that the Germans go too far in developing the more intellectual aspirations of humanity, but the fault is, that they stop too soon and trace not the beauty of man's nature and intellect to its Divine pattern; they give not God the praise, but stop short and deify what they ought rather to sanctify. Would that the English were about to show forth to all the world a union of their own excellences, with the charms that so fascinate us in other lands; Cannot a high power of developing the perceptions of beauty, and the sympathies of the heart, be coincident with the ordinary proprieties of polished life, and a lofty standard of moral and revealed truth? Such a picture may be ideal, but the educated classes in this country are not unconscious of such dreams, nor altogether disinclined to diffuse this high estate of human life into the minds of all classes. To argue against the moral good of music, on the ground that professors in the art are often found untouched by its ameliorating influence, is too weak to deserve comment; every principle of conduct, human and divine, would give way if their misapplication was at the same time their condemnation.

We will not, however, generalize thus, but return to Mr. Laing, who pounces with delight upon the supposed bad taste of Munich, as a failure within the German's own province of the fine arts. He imagines that he has it his own way in the specimen of kingly patronage of art instanced by this city. We shall offer no comment, as we have no desire to defend the wisdom of his late Bavarian majesty, or stake our general argument on the beauty of the Munich Post-office.

'Munich is the Athens of Germany, nay, of Europe—the European academy of taste in the fine arts, and consequently of all human civilisation. So they tell you here in Munich, and the opinion is adopted very generally. The Bavarian ex-monarch declared some years ago, on laying the foundation stone of a second Pinacothèque, or picture gallery, "that he lived but for his artists;" and all Germany re-echoed with applauses of the foolish saying. Two or three snug little questions, each of which might be stretched out into a volume, suggest themselves. First, Is it true that Munich-taste is the best and purest of all tastes, past, present, or to come, in painting, architecture, and the other fine arts? Secondly, Is it true that civilisation is measured most correctly by the state of the fine arts in a country? and that the civilisation of the fine arts, of the *esthetic*, is of a higher nature and more connected with the social, moral, and religious well-being of a people, than the civilisation diffused by the culture and enjoyment of the useful arts? Thirdly, Is it true that kings should live for their artists

only? should tax their subjects to the utmost, in order to erect masterpieces of architecture, very beautiful and very useless? should lavish the means of the country in gilding, stucco, statuary, fresco paintings, and such unproductive objects? I shall spare my readers, and merely give my impressions at Munich, without pretending to discuss the inquiries they suggest.'—P. 330.

The celebrated Iser Gate meets with the following reception from our traveller.

'It is one of the oldest of the modern embellishments of Munich; one of the first in which fresco painting was adopted, and its exposure to the atmosphere in Bavaria fairly tried. It cannot be said that the plaster has suffered, or that the colours have materially faded, during an exposure of about fifty years to the heat and cold, damp and drought, of a climate very variable, or rather, exceedingly given to extremes. The durability of the art, or of its means—plaster and colour—in out-of-door works, seems sufficiently established by this experiment. It is charitable to suppose that to try the experiment was all the builder intended, and it is not fair to criticise the work in any other view. This building, however, being held out to the traveller as a distinguished object of fine art, independently of the successful proof it gives of the durability of fresco painting in our rough climates north of the Alps, the traveller may state the impression it makes on him. The Iser Gate is placed without any meaning: it corresponds to nothing, joins nothing, keeps nothing in and nothing out, but is simply a gate-by-itself gate, which seems to have dropped from the moon into an open space in a street of Munich, to be decorated with fresco paintings. In this pure simplicity of want of purpose, this nothing-to-do-ishness where it stands, the Iser Gate might have vied with the similar structure at Hyde Park Corner, before the Duke and his horse took pity on it and gave it something to support. The Iser Gate is flanked on each side by two rotundities, more corpulent and dwarfish in their dimensions than besemeth genuine gothic towers, and in shape resembling more the two Heidelberg tuns set on end than any other mediæval structures. Round the heads of these towers, below their mock battlements, runs a fillet of gaudily painted escutcheons, or shields, of red and white, green and blue, in brilliant quarterings; and very splendid they are in colours. But what are they intended for? Whether the gate is to be taken for a Roman triumphal arch, or for a Gothic castle-gate, or both in one, the men on the battlements would scarcely hang their shields out of their own reach, and where they could not get at them either from above or from below. But ornamental effect is probably all that was intended. The effect is similar, but on a great scale, to that of the fillet of gilt paper usually bound round the end of a dumpy web of broadcloth in a draper's shop. Above the arch or gateway itself is a long fillet, about eight feet broad, and some seventy feet in length, teeming with allegory and history in fresco. The figures are very spirited sketches, in bright colours, by Neher and Kögel. Is it from ignorant prejudice, or is it from a just dislike to the incongruity of mixing painting with architecture to produce one architectural effect, that this fillet of painting is not satisfactory to every taste? The Elgin marbles in their native position and state, a frieze or fillet of stone-work forming one ornamental portion of a stone temple, are in unity of effect with the building, and are a part of it; but the very same figures and subjects painted on a stripe of canvas, or on stained paper-hangings, or on a stripe of plaster in fresco paintings, and hung up or stuck up where the sculptures had been, would to every eye be a monstrous incongruity. No merit in the painting, no spirit in the sketch or splendour in the colours, could quell the secret feeling that this fresco painting, however

admirable in itself, has no legitimate right to be where it is, as an adjunct to the architectural effect of the edifice. The two arts are naturally distinct in the principles and means of addressing the human mind.'—Pp. 332—334.

The following passage also follows up his ideas of the combination of colours with architecture.

'In the same square with this theatre is another public building, the Post Office, presenting a row of pillars toward the square. The dead wall behind the pillars is painted with a deep, or rather dingy, Pompeii red colour; and a horse in white paint, a Pegasus or some such device, figures on this dark-red ground, which brings out admirably the row of pillars in front of it. This is, no doubt, done upon very sound principles of stage effect; but is it on sound principles of architectural effect? is it architecture, or is it only an imitation of architecture? is the effect produced by deception, or by reality? In the fine arts no substitute for reality of excellence is tolerated. The mere imitation of quality is rejected in the fine arts, as well as in the useful arts, and in matters of taste, as well as in matters of morals. The thing must be genuine, real—a real specimen of the good in the art it belongs to, or it is despised. The stucco imitation of stone-work, painted weather-stains, rough mock-granite, smooth mock-marble, and all the brick or stone of the paint-brush, belong to the decorative art, and may be meritorious, but belong not to architecture. In the decadence of the fine arts, the Romans began to decorate their statues with coloured eyes, cheeks, and hair, and to ornament them with precious stones. Akin to this taste is that of mixing up fresco colouring with stucco decoration, to produce architectural effect. In spite of Greek or Roman authority for painting the exterior of buildings, one feels that painting has no business out of doors.'—Pp. 335, 336.

The truth of Mr. Laing's argument on this point of æsthetics, we shall leave hand in hand with his assumption concerning the great Italian artists, contained in the following extract.

'We are very apt to confound the merit of overcoming a great difficulty, with the merit of the work produced, and to place the sum total to the credit of the latter. In poetry how much passes upon us as excellent, not from any poetic excellence in the ideas, but from difficulties ably overcome in the versification, rhymes, technical rules of style, unities of dramatic composition, or other circumstances? The painting upon wet plaster is unquestionably a great difficulty, which can only be overcome by a rare combination of a sure eye and a ready hand, besides all the other qualifications of an artist. The colour, whether mixed only with water, as in ordinary fresco painting, or with wax to give it body and gloss, as in encaustic painting, must be laid on at once, in its full intensity, on a space of the plaster kept in a wet state to receive it. Fresco painting admits of no coming over again, to amend faults in the drawing, colouring, or keeping. All the effect must be produced at once, in a single stroke of the brush, without retouching. This is a great technical difficulty, requiring a rare combination of talent in the artist who overcomes it; but we are apt to confound the merit of overcoming it with the merit of the art itself. Fresco painting, as a fine art, is, on account of those very difficulties, an imperfect and inferior means, compared to oil painting, of representing the pictorial idea, whether that be a scene from nature, or a poetical idea of the artist. The plaster, no doubt, bears out the raw colours, the blues, reds, yellows, with full brilliancy as laid on at once from the palette; but there is no blending, shading, heightening, or subduing the tone. The highest artistical skill must be required to produce any thing at all, with

such difficulties in the imperfect means of producing; but the merit of the artist who accomplishes the production, is something very different from the merit of the work produced, or of the art itself. The artist who walks a mile upon his hands with his legs in the air, accomplishes a very difficult work, and may have great merit for the ease, grace, and beauty he exhibits in his action; but the merit of the art itself, compared to the art of walking the distance on one's feet, is rather questionable. The great Italian artists, Leonardo da Vinci, Michel Angelo, Raphael, Domenichino, overcame the imperfection of the means to which they were, it is probable, very unwillingly bound—fresco painting being the only means afforded them by monks and church officials, who wanted cheap, showy, and expeditious work upon their walls—and have left in fresco painting some of the noblest conceptions that the poetic mind ever expressed in outline and colour. But it is far from evident that those great artists preferred the means they were under the necessity of using; and it is far from evident that Bernard Neher, or Kögel, or Spohr, are Leonardos, or Raphaels, or Domenichinos, who did great works with imperfect means. Fresco painting, as it is seen here in Munich, seems to stand in the same relation to oil painting, as the pantomime or melo-drama does to the regular drama. The figures, attitudes, expression, dresses, are all necessarily exaggerated, not to say caricatured, because the means of truthful representation are wanting.'—Pp. 336—338.

On the subject of music, we shall be content with giving the following entertaining, though we think, self-condemnatory passage. It is a specimen of much more.

'It is a remarkable difference between the German branch and the English of the same Saxon or Teutonic race, and one of the first which strikes the English traveller in Germany, that the former, the German people, are the most musical, and the latter, the Anglo-Saxons, the least so, of any people in Europe. Is it a physical difference of organization? or is it the result of different circumstances of education, habits, and social condition? In Germany music is not, as in Britain, cultivated and enjoyed only by a few, principally females, in the upper ranks of society, or in the wealthiest of the middle class in the great cities; but it enters largely into the habitual occupation and enjoyment of all classes, is universally diffused, is taught by order of government in all schools, is familiar to every individual, practised in every family, and is a real social influence, an important element, in German life and character. Is this a beneficial influence and element in life and character? Would it be possible, or desirable if possible, that our English population should be as thoroughly musicalised as the German? The question deserves consideration.

'The conventional jargon of the courts, artists, and literary men of the times of Louis XIV. and Louis XV., which has descended as an heir-loom to the same classes in our times, about the humanising influences of music and the drama on the human race, and the superiority, as efficient means and undeniable proofs of civilisation, of the fine arts—the arts which administer pleasure through the organs of sense, the eye or ear, to the cultivated and refined taste of the upper classes—over the vulgar useful arts which diffuse comfort, industry, and intelligence among the mass of mankind, has been brought to the test of experience in our days. It is not the musician, the fiddler, fifer, or bagpiper, who has humanised the Hottentot, and raised the New Zealander, the Sandwich Islander, the Cherokee, to a higher social and moral condition than the lazzaroni of Naples or Rome who have lived under the civilising influences of music and the fine arts for ages; but the artisan, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the seamstress, and schoolmistress, with her husband the missionary.

The age of Orpheus is past; the stocks and stones of our generation are only to be animated, moved, and civilised by higher and more intellectual influences and enjoyments than harmony of sound. Music, in its most successful efforts, addresses mind much less distinctly and intelligibly than the most imperfect language. It conveys no idea or meaning, but only the impression or feeling of the sensations, which ideas sublime, pathetic, gay, or agreeable, would produce if conveyed by language. Music, which Sir Humphry Davy calls the most intellectual of our sensual pleasures, may rouse, agitate, or soothe, may delight the sense for harmony of sound, and thus it undeniably enlarges the circle of human enjoyments, and adds to them a sphere of its own, a new world of pleasurable sensations; but these effects are as evanescent as the sounds which produce them. The mind and its powers, the intelligence, the judgment, the moral sense, are not acted upon and exercised by the most delicious harmony. The musicians who produce it, are not themselves more humanized or civilised, that is, more moral, virtuous, and intellectual members of society, than those who never heard good music.'—Pp. 348—350.

German *manners* are next brought in vivid contrast with the love of fine art. It is not without an apology to international hospitality and also to refinement of taste, that we extract the following passage. We can only say that its distinctness and force of language are irresistible.

'All from the prince to the shoemaker, are what our dainty gentry would call slovenly livers, dirty feeders, and insensible to the disgust they may give by habits confined, among us, to our lowest and most roughly bred classes. Spitting all round a room, picking their teeth at meals with the knife, licking it, and thrusting it into the butter or cheese, and such petty abominations, show that there is not that marked difference in those small observances of delicacy, and of regard for the feelings of others, in manners and behaviour, which distinguish the gentleman from the non-gentleman in our population. At table, or in the habits and usages of living, the artisan or tradesman, in Germany, is quite as nice and gentlemanlike as the count or baron; or rather, the count or baron is quite as coarse and vulgar as the tradesman or artisan. This want of habitual refinement or consideration for others, and want of respect for one's self in the small matters of manners and ways of living, this want of consideration of what may be disagreeable or disgusting to one's neighbours, is a great defect in the German character. It obliges even the best-educated and most estimable German gentlemen, when they travel in France or England, to put on a refinement altogether foreign to their every-day habits at home. On this account, the Germans make the worst of travellers. They set out with a lower standard of manners and habits of living than that of the same class in the countries they visit. It is owing to this want of innate or habitual taste in manners and mode of living with themselves, which gentlemen of the same station in other countries are bred up with, that men of rank, education, and fortune, from Germany, are very often scarcely tolerated in ordinary lodging-houses, and are very rarely at home and at ease in English families of the same class as themselves, or often very inferior to themselves in all essential distinctions. They return home astonished, disappointed, and full of wrath; because their real merit and importance had not been appreciated by the English people. The reason, is, that an English family, especially the female part of it, is excessively fastidious and over-nice about all the minor morals, as they have been called, of manners and habits. A German gentleman fuming tobacco from every pore, hawking and spitting incessantly, all over the floor, telling you in more ways than one that he is in a sweat,

sticking his fork or spoon into a dish after he has had it in his mouth, is rarely welcome a second time in an English family of the class of society he really belongs to by birth, education, and fortune. When he is obliged to renounce these little practices not conformable to English customs, he is playing a part not habitual to him, assuming a refinement in society foreign to his usual hereditary habits; and he hurries to his inn or lodgings, where he can smoke, spit, belch, and unbutton himself and lounge half-dressed in his bed-gown, and be as gross in his own company as he pleases. One half the coldness, haughtiness, and distance of manner imputed to the English, both at home and abroad, by German travellers and writers, arises from this difference of refinement or taste in the ways of living.'—Pp. 378—380.

In his description of the Frankfort parliament, he touches on a great moral defect of the German character and system.

'St. Paul's church in Frankfort will take its place in history, as well as St. Stephen's in Westminster, but not exactly as high. The German parliament, the first, and probably the last, elected by universal suffrage to represent the whole Germanic population, and frame a united central government and constitution, sat in the Paulus Kirche, until June 1849, when its remnant retired to Stuttgart, and expired in its own smoke. This church is a modern circular building of red freestone, standing in a small square area, of which the Exchange forms one side. A porter mug, bottom up, would give a very good idea of its ground-plan, elevation, and proportions. It was not selected, certainly, for its architectural beauty, to be the seat of the German parliament; but the convenience of its interior makes up for the defects of its exterior. The British house of commons is not so comfortably and roomily accommodated. The president's chair occupied the place of the pulpit; the precentor's desk was the tribune; and what may have been the elders' seat, was sufficiently capacious for the clerks and a table or two. Right, left, right centre, left centre, extreme right, extreme left, were divisions in the arrangement of the benches made by the necessary passages for the congregation to their seats. A circular gallery above admitted the public, and could accommodate about a thousand people. Below it, on the same level with the seats of the members, the ladies, the diplomatic corps, the reporters, and strangers with a member's ticket, or with that universal ticket a *gulden*, were conveniently seated. The chair was taken at a quarter past nine every morning, and the house seldom rose before two, and often had an evening sitting from four to eight or nine. What first strikes the traveller is, that all the members wore mustaches, beards, tips, or other hairy appendages of all dimensions and colours, which to the English eye, not accustomed to see gentlemen in such fantastic chin accoutrements, gave the assembly the appearance of a masquerade, or of a meeting of old clothesmen. Two eyes, a nose between, and a mass of hair below hiding all expression of the most expressive feature in the human countenance, the mouth, have the effect of a paper mask over the face, or of an exhibition of wax figures. The most eloquent and impassioned public speaker, with the lower half of his face wagging up and down the bunch of hair attached to it, as he opens and shuts his mouth, appears too like the child's toy of Mr. Punch, with a moveable joint in the under jaw opening and shutting by a string, not to excite the risible propensities of the spectator from the shaven lands of Europe. These are trifles to remark; but as an indication of character, either in an individual or a people, affectation is no trifle. Weakness of character, and affectation of appearing to be what one is not, are most clearly shown in trifles. The majority of an assembly born and bred with beardless chins, affecting in manhood to appear like knights of the middle ages, as represented in ancient paintings, by wearing beards, mustaches, tips, and fantastic hats

or caps, to give picturesque effect to their heads, do not convey to the observer of character the idea that these are men of real sound sense and independent mind, or that such fantastically dressed up imitative heads have much of their own inside of them.—Pp. 412—414.

Mr. Laing is occasionally in a softer frame of mind, and enters more impartially into the description of German manners. The scene of the following extract is Hamburgh. The concluding remarks contain much truth.

‘In this German-English park from fifteen hundred to two thousand people, every gala-day in the fine season, dine, drink coffee, and lounge away four or five hours. They dine singly, or in parties, or at a *table d’hôte*, and out of doors, or in small pavilions; and all the department of the *cuisine* is considered admirable by those who are judges of it. A regular orchestra, as strong in numbers, and probably in talent, as that of any of our minor theatres, is part of this monster establishment. Sundays and holidays are particularly gala-days at Rainville’s, and the number of people who pass and repass, and take some refreshment, and come to talk with their friends or to listen to the music, must be immense. Ladies, children, and family parties of the middle and higher classes, form a considerable proportion of the company. So great an assemblage of the higher classes of a city, collected in one public place of entertainment open to every body who chooses to take a cup of coffee, or a glass of *liqueur* and a cigar, can scarcely be seen anywhere, even on the Continent. This tea-garden life—the sitting out of doors sipping coffee or tea, the ladies knitting or sewing and chatting, the gentlemen smoking their pipes and skimming over the newspapers, all entertained with good instrumental music, and a great assemblage of family parties around occupied in the same way—seems to be the summit of earthly felicity in German life. All ranks and classes enjoy an evening or two every week, in this way. The labouring people have their Rainville’s too—their coffee, pipes, and music, in the open air, at hundreds of tea-gardens and houses of entertainment scattered over the environs. There is a simplicity, kindly feeling, and unpretending enjoyment in these family parties of the labouring people, sitting under the trees—the whole family, from the grandfather to the infant in arms, meeting together in an evening, once a week, in their best clothes, and best humour, and all gay and innocently merry without extravagance or boisterous excess. Such scenes give the traveller a favourable and just impression of the amiable disposition of the German people. Why is it, he asks, that so many of our gentry, or would be gentry, shrink with horror from mixing with the middle or lower classes in England in any place of public entertainment? Is it that, in reality, many of our nominal gentry are only persons of wealth suddenly gentrified—persons who have acquired the fortune, rank, and social importance of gentry, before they began to take up the habits, manners, and mode of thinking and acting of the educated upper class, and feeling themselves just the same sort of persons as they were originally, and that the difference between them and the vulgar is not in mind, habits, and education, but in the conventional distinctions of wealth, they hate the profane vulgar, and keep aloof from all intercourse with them, sensible that they themselves are at bottom of the same class, and that the difference is in the coat, not in the man? On the Continent the different classes are more distinctly marked. The noble, the professional, the military man, the civil functionary, are fenced in by privileges, titles, orders, and conventional rank. They run no risk of being confounded with the lower unprivileged classes, and can afford to mix more freely with them. Wealth

is not the measure of social influence as with us, either in reality or in public estimation, but the place, civil or military, which the individuals hold under government.'—Pp. 459—461.

The following tribute to the imaginative character of Germans shall conclude this branch of our subject, and leave us room for but one or two further extracts.

'The Germans are unquestionably the most imaginative people in Europe. German literature is scarcely a century old. It was only about 1748, that Rabner, Hagedorn, Gesner, began their feeble attempts to produce original compositions in the German language. What a vast body of German literature, and almost all of imaginative character, has been since created! It can already vie in amount, and, in the opinion of many, in merit, with all the imaginative literature of all the other nations of Europe. But it is not only from their poetry, romances, novels, and such works of fiction, that the Germans may be deemed the most imaginative of the European people. They are more under the influence of imagination, and less under the influence of sober judgment, experience, and what we call common sense, than any other people, in their speculations in philosophy, politics, and the ordinary social affairs of life. The German philosopher, politician, professional man, and individual in private life, views things through an atmosphere of imagination, feeling, and enthusiasm, which generally magnifies and distorts what he is looking at, and leads him astray in his judgment and conduct. How many theories and speculations in religion, ethics, metaphysics, politics, issue yearly from the German mind! All are more or less brilliant and novel; in all there may be a nucleus of truth, but all are involved in a cloud of mystical expression, through which no distinct meaning is perceived by the reader. He must seek a meaning in his own mind, for he receives none that is distinct, from the author. The disciples of this mysticism are the more enthusiastic because it is, in reality, their own impressions, feelings, or ideas, raised by vague imaginative expressions, that they embrace as the author's, and not any precise distinct meaning they have obtained from the author. They are properly the authors themselves, of what they adopt so enthusiastically as the author's meaning; for no two of them understand in the same way the same theory or speculation. These are meteors which illuminate the world of German mind for a season, and then expire and are seen no more. This is the history of innumerable productions in philosophy and politics, which issue yearly from the German press, and which are in reality imaginative productions as much as their poetry—are imagination applied to those subjects to which other people apply sober reason, judgment, experience, and good sense. To this imaginative turn of mind must be ascribed the great importance attached by all Germans to the æsthetic, to all the fine arts and all connected with them, and the little importance attached to those practical evils in their social state, which would drive sober people mad. The German people live in a world of imagination; and while they write, and talk, and sing, and make songs about German unity and liberty, and one great united German nation with one central constitutional government, and even fight nobly for the cause, or the imaginative idea, of this free united new Germany, they submit to the reality of a servile bondage in their Landwehr service, their functionary system, their passport system, their class-taxation, and in every social relation.'—Pp. 479, 480.

Convents are often associated exclusively with the Romish system, though unnecessarily so. Proof is given even among

ourselves of their practical use in the case of sisterhoods; but to satisfy the most ultra-protestants we can adduce an instance of a convent which can give no offence to their scruples. The degree of utility under different systems we shall not discuss.

‘A kind of pauper establishment—it may be impertinent to call it so—for a class of poor very numerous in England, and suffering as much real distress as the most destitute, the poor unmarried gentlewomen of the country, who, according to the common expressive phrase, “can neither work nor want,” is within a forenoon’s ride of Kiel, and well deserves the consideration of the traveller. At Pretz, a beautiful little town on the stream called the Schwentine, which expands here into the Lanker Lake, there was, in Catholic times, a convent for nuns of noble family, established, it is supposed, about the year 1216, and very richly endowed with land in the vicinity by a Count Örlamunde and other noblemen. There was no Henry VIII. here at the Reformation, to seize on the monastic lands, and confer them on his favourites; and the Holstein nobility had a direct interest in preventing a conventual establishment that was of service to their own order, from being broken up for the benefit of individuals. They retained it as a kind of Protestant nunnery. The following is the present arrangement of this establishment:—It consists of a dean, or dignified clergyman, to take charge of the estates and affairs; a lady-prioresse, and thirty-nine convent-sisters, who live in separate small genteel houses, each having her own establishment and house-keeping, and her separate income to live upon, on the footing of our fellows of colleges. They go into the world, visit their friends, partake of all social amusements, and are only bound to residence for a certain portion of the year; and to certain rules of dress, attendance on chapel, and similar regulations, when they do reside, in the same way as our fellows of a college at Oxford or Cambridge. When a nobleman finds he has more daughters than he can provide for, he enters the name of one of them at her birth, or in early infancy, on the convent books, and pays yearly a certain small stipend; which, if the child dies, or has succeeded to other prospects in life, goes to the funds of the establishment. At the age when education begins, the child is placed with one of the convent sisters to be educated and brought up at the expense of the establishment. No expense is spared. Music, dancing, languages, and all female accomplishments are taught; and the young lady, at a proper age, goes into society, to concerts, balls, plays, parties, with her convent sister as her matron or mother. It is not at all uncommon that the young lady gets an offer of marriage, which she accepts of; and being brought up, not at a boarding-school, nor in a convent secluded from society, but in a private house in which her convent-mother has her own house-keeping, her own social circle, and her own separate income to live upon, she is a well educated lady, and well prepared to become an excellent wife and mistress of a family. Many of the first nobility of the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, have married young ladies brought up in those conventual establishments. There are several of them, but this of Pretz is the wealthiest. If the young lady marries, she of course leaves it, and her benefit and interest in it as a member ceases. If she remains single, she continues in it; and in course of time succeeds by seniority to a vacancy in the number of convent sisters, enjoying in the mean time a comfortable home and certain living; and occupying herself, as unmarried ladies usually do, in the education of the younger girls, visiting, church-going, living, in short, as fellows of a college do, who are sometimes resident, sometimes not, but partaking in all amusements and pleasures of good society. If one of these ladies, by the death of relatives, or otherwise, succeed to an income of a certain

amount, it is understood that she is to make room for a successor. This conventual establishment of Pretz has very extensive estates, and even villages, in the most fertile tract of the country on the side of the Baltic, and it is said the population on its property exceeds 5000 persons.—Pp. 496—498.

We will conclude with one extract that is confirmatory of much we have said about Mr. Laing. He is impartial in stating his observations, and acute in perceiving truth, but he does not take hold of it exactly in the right place. Prejudices of religion and his anti-æsthetic turn of mind keep him off the exact conclusion, though he prepares the way for it and leaves its place vacant. The object of his book is to prove the necessity of a middle influence in society; that influence having an independent moral character at stake. This he considers to be the essential deficiency of the German functionary system, which is too direct and servile on the one hand or too rebellious on the other; in fact, too easily and immediately influenced by the excitement of passing events. He is not an insane accuser of past ages, under such epithets as dark and superstitious; on the contrary, he has a very true conception of the instinctive power of a country to manage its own affairs, with a system nicely balanced between all the circumstances of its existence. He is wise enough to see that it is inconsistent to call those ages dark, which undoubtedly established and nurtured up all the institutions of religion, of government, and social life,—which make us, humanly speaking, what we are. He knows that this country has been growing up through various stages of life, and is always in history found to be actively improving, during those very times designated so unkindly. He is sufficient of a political economist to feel that the founders of that system of jurisprudence, which has answered so well, cannot have been altogether without sense, or sunk in barbarism. He also has gratitude to appreciate his benefactors. Nay, he discovers the very secret of our liberty, of our free institutions and our advancement in letters. He acknowledges the civilizing influence of the Church during those ages. But there he stops; for after all it is only Rome that he means, he attaches no sacred character to the Church, and entirely omits the consideration of the Church still existing as an independent middle power, though not in dependence on Papal authority. Most truly, as he pictures, does society yearn for a middle influence, for a maternal care, for a guide and object in bringing the heart as well as the physical organization of mankind to co-operate in the cause of progress and order, even taking no higher view. Most true, also, is it that the Church has occupied this position, and is the mother of our freedom. But the Church still lives outside of Rome, and exerts the same influence, is ready to supply the same yearnings

now as ever she was. She ever lives, she is ever the fountain of wisdom, she is the true political economist, the true philosopher, the true adapter of abstract truth to the wants of every time, of every season, of every clime, of every race. She is ever ready to bring out of her store things new and old.

With these comments we leave the extract alluded to with our readers, regretting that, for the sake of completeness, we are obliged to introduce a word, occurring in the opening sentence, which we had rather not see on our pages.

'The traveller who has no partiality for Popery or Puseyism, and holds shaven crowns or shovel-hats, altars, crucifixes, and surplices, white or black, of silk or of serge, not very essential to salvation, or very worthy distinctions among Christian ministers, will yet look with a certain reverence and respect upon the pomp, pageantry, and magnificence of the once universal Church of Rome—these relics of her former power and grandeur still displayed in her religious ceremonials and machinery. He cannot forget that there was a time, extending over some fifteen or sixteen hundred years, when Europe contained only slaves and masters, serfs and nobles, and the Churchmen were the only third estate in the social body. They were not men of birth, privilege, or interest. The highest dignities and the greatest social and political influence were attainable in the Catholic Church, by men of the lowest as well as of the highest classes; and individuals rose to eminence and power by worth, talents, and learning. This Church-element was, in the early middle ages, the popular element in the social structure of Europe; the counterpoise to the kingly and aristocratic elements. In any true reading of history, the Church and her establishments, dependent upon the papal authority at Rome alone, and independent, in their civil as well as their ecclesiastical affairs, of the sovereigns, nobles, feudal jurisdictions and institutions, and of the military anarchy and violence prevailing in every land, were the only asylums in which the spirit of freedom and of independence of mind, and the restraints of public opinion and religious feeling upon barbarian chiefs and men in power, the moral checks upon brutal despotic sway, were lodged, kept alive, and nursed to their present maturity. Rome would have been what Constantinople is, and western Europe what Turkey and Russia are, but for the separation of the ecclesiastical from the temporal authority in every country of the Catholic faith, and the independence of this distinct Church power of the power of the state, its concentration in a sovereign pontiff at Rome, and its being upheld, not by arms and brute force, but by public opinion and a moral and religious sentiment or faith, allied, no doubt, to gross superstition, but still much more spiritual and intellectual than any other social influence of the times. Law, learning, education, science, all that we term civilisation in the present social condition of the European people, spring from the supremacy of the Roman pontiffs and the Catholic priesthood over the kings and nobles of the middle ages. All that men have of civil, political, and religious freedom in the present age, may be clearly traced, in the history of every country, to the working and effects of the independent power of the Church of Rome over the property, social economy, movement, mind, and intelligence of all connected with her in the social body. She unquestionably represented the public mind in all social action; and if she often abused her power as its representative, she always maintained the rights of her constituent to independence of the civil power, or state, in matters of religion. By nursing this spirit in the European people, the Church of Rome was herself the mother of the Reformation. It was the legitimate offspring of her own principle of exist-

ence. Without this spirit and principle of independence of the civil power in religious affairs, the efforts of Luther, Calvin, and Knox, would have been unavailing with the people in establishing the Reformation; and the Free Church of Scotland shakes hands with the Church of Rome over this one great social and religious principle common to both—the independence of religious faith of all state power. Let no man condemn the Church of Rome as having been, from beginning to end of its history and social influence, a noxious or useless establishment. In the Greek Church no such reformation as Luther's can take place; because no such independence of the civil power as the Roman pontiffs claimed, made good, and infused in the mind and spirit of the people of western Europe, was ever conceded to, or inculcated by the patriarchs of the Greek branch of Christianity. We read history wrong when we swell with indignation at the arrogance, pride, and almost royal pomp, wealth, and power of the prelates in the middle ages, at the disposal of crowns and kingdoms, and at the humiliation and dethronement of legitimate sovereigns in the plenitude of their power, by papal decrees. We forget that these events, so common in the middle ages, were the subjugation of brute force, in barbarous times, to spiritual and intellectual influences in social affairs. Superstition, fanaticism, religious action of any kind, however unenlightened, degrading, and barbarous, is still intellectual influence, is still moral movement, however ill understood and ill directed, is still something higher and better than the mere submission to blind force—is something that exalts the man above the mere animal-serf or slave, responding, without reference to his intellectual nature, to the mere impulse of the command and the lash. The despotism of the East is founded on the union of the spiritual and civil power in the same hand, on the subjection of soul and body to the state-ruler. If the sovereigns of western Europe had been heads of the Church as well as of the state, civil and religious liberty would have been extinguished, and with it all civilisation. Historians declaim against the inordinate ambition of popes and prelates, and the wonderful continuity of effort of all Churchmen in all countries, century after century, to obtain more and more power and influence for the Church and its head at Rome; but they forget that such ambition and effort would have been altogether fruitless, if not supported by some great social necessity, by some generally and strongly felt conviction in the minds of all men, that this power was beneficial to them in their social state, protective of their temporal interests and civil rights, and not merely beneficial to the order of clergy. An obscure impulse, a kind of instinct, leads men to support what is for their general social good, although the mode of its operating may not be clear to every mind. It was this instinctive impulse of the human mind to adopt the fitting and the good, and not merely a blind fanaticism or superstition raised by the clergy, that led every intelligent man, in those dark ages of despotism and anarchy, to side with the Church, and to set up and support her power in every country, above and independent of the absolute uncontrolled power of physical force involved in the military feudality of the sovereign and nobles. We see, at this day, the want of such a third power in the social structure of some of the Protestant countries of the Continent. Those which had not, like England, Switzerland, and Holland, obtained some form of an effective constitutional government, or some general feeling in favour of it, before the Reformation, fell back, by the junction of Church and state in the hands of the sovereign, into a lower condition as to civil and political liberty and rights than they were in before. Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and all the Protestant states of Germany are, at this day, in all that regards freedom in social action, freedom of mind and opinion, more enslaved than they were in the middle of the middle ages. The union of Church and state has established an irresponsible power in the hands of the sovereigns adverse to civil and

religious liberty. This is clearly brought out by the different position of the Protestant and Catholic clergy in those countries. In Sweden and Denmark there are few or no Catholic clergy; but the established Lutheran clergy are employed as government-functionaries and overloaded with statistical returns, inquiries, and local business in their parishes which, however necessary to the state, are incompatible with the pastoral duties of the clergyman. The Roman Catholic priesthood would not submit, in any country, to such abuse of their time and proper functions. In Prussia, the two branches of Protestantism, the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches, were squeezed into one a few years ago by the late sovereign. New forms of worship were imposed upon them by royal edicts; coercion, imprisonment, military force, and quartering of troops on the recusant peasants, were resorted to, in order to force the ministers and people to receive the new service; and to resist this monstrous tyranny and persecution there was no Rome, no Vatican, no pope or head of the Church to appeal to. How different, in the same country, at the same period, was the exertion of the autocratic power of the same Prussian monarch over his Roman Catholic subjects! They had protection at Rome, and consequently in the whole Catholic world, against such arbitrary violence to the religious convictions and Church of his Catholic subjects. He could not even appoint to any clerical office independently of Rome, although he could, and actually did, imprison and dismiss Protestant clergymen, for refusing to adopt a new Church service which, as head of the Church and state, he composed and promulgated by royal edict.

Whoever considers impartially the historical events of ancient and recent times, will admit that the Church of Rome was, for many a dark age and hour, a beacon-light in the path of civil and religious liberty, shining far a-head through the universal gloom; and although now it is left far behind in the progress of mind and of society, and is dimmed by the rising dawn of knowledge and civilisation, it is still useful, it still shows to arbitrary kingly power in Prussia, that there are restraints upon tyrannical interference with religious opinion and convictions.

The influence of the religious persecutions of the late king of Prussia in producing the general movement of Germany, in 1848, for constitutional government to limit such arbitrary acts of autocratic power, will be touched upon in a future Note. The attempt, by a Concordat with the pope, to bring the Catholic subjects of Prussia into some ostensible connection with, and subjection to, the head of the Protestant Church, and its total failure, is curious and instructive. It was not to be tolerated in an autocratic government that the sovereign who could, as head of the Church and state, impose a new liturgy and Church service on his Protestant subjects, and appoint or dismiss, reward or punish their clergy at his pleasure, could not even name a priest to a vacant dignity or office among his Roman Catholic subjects. A Concordat with the late pope was therefore attempted, in order to give an equivalent power to the crown over its Catholic subjects.

If governments can be taught by example, the example of Prussia in this attempt at the settlement of a Concordat with the Vatican might be a useful lesson, a warning against the gratuitous interference of a state with objects of Church power, nowise connected with the legitimate objects of good government. To have no State-Church at all appears to be the only arrangement suitable to the present advanced condition of society and of the public mind on religious freedom.—Pp. 394—400.

- ART. V.—1. *The True Remedy for the Evils of the Age. A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Lewes, &c. in 1849. By JULIUS CHARLES HARE, M. A.* London: J. W. Parker. 1850.
2. *The Marriage with the Sister of a Deceased Wife. A Sermon preached in Bocking Church, on Sunday, March 17, 1850. By HENRY CARRINGTON, M. A. Dean and Rector of Bocking.* London: Longmans. 1850.
3. *Marriage with Two Sisters, contrary to the Holy Law of God and Nature. A Sermon preached in Canterbury Cathedral, on Tuesday, May 7th. By the Rev. CHARLES FORSTER, B.D. one of the Six Preachers, and Rector of Stisted, Essex. With Notes, and Berriman's Letter on the same subject.* London: Rivingtons. 1850.

It was said a few years ago of a pertinacious disputant, that he never could perceive when he was logically defunct. Archdeacon Hare, in those portions of his Charge, and of the accompanying notes, which treat of the much ventilated Marriage question, has betrayed this want of perception. To some other of the many topics, on which, like a true cosmopolite of the nineteenth century, he has thought proper to enlarge, the same remark would apply. But it is really strange, that, notwithstanding the author's well-known boldness and confidence, and vehement affection for that figure of speech called an *ipse dixit*, he has ventured so resolutely to put himself at the head of dead arguments, in the face of that bristling array of evidence, which on this most important subject so clearly stands forth. Perhaps there is but one satisfactory solution of the phenomenon. It is briefly this: he believes that all the conclusions involved in this question may be 'ascertained,' (as he affirms of Catholic consent,) 'without much trouble;' in other words, that he takes just as much trouble as he pleases, and no more. With him, and others like him, 'de non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est ratio;' that is, they do not believe those things to exist, for which they have not taken the pains to seek. However, whether their conclusions can be *ascertained* without much trouble, it is certain they can be *asserted* with little or none.

In justice to the Archdeacon, we will state a few of his

propositions; and then, for the enlightenment of the youthful philosophers of the present age, will put them in contrast with Mr. Carrington's obsolete arguments, which in such quarters seem to be unworthy of notice, since they exclude altogether that most valuable element aforesaid, the *ipse dixit*, and are based upon the sandy foundation of Catholic consent, reason, and analogy, and have nothing to do with German Romanists.

In the first place, then, as a *πρόσωπον τηλανγές*, we have the weight of his individual opinion. 'The question is one in which *I* have not seen *my* way clearly to any satisfactory conclusion.' Then again: 'The main argument of all, drawn from the injunctions of the Levitical law, has seemed to *me* wholly untenable.' This proposition consists of three parts. 1. *To me*. The Archdeacon cannot hold what the Church has ever held. 2. It is *untenable*, which means, it cannot be held:—though it has long been held, it can be held no longer. At least, the Archdeacon cannot hold it, therefore it ought not to be held. He has appraised the article, set its true value upon it, and thrown it aside as useless lumber. 3. It is *wholly* untenable: Analogy, testimony, authority, are nothing: Fathers and Councils have not a leg to stand upon. This is decisive. Again: '*I* cannot resist the conclusion that the marriage of a sister after the wife's death is implied (in Scripture.)' So irresistible was the impulse, that he pushed S. Basil, S. Gregory, and a few other such 'imaginary authorities' out of the way, as men of straw, myths—and would hardly listen to a word they could say. Such is the energy of a powerful intellect, luxuriating, like Homer's horse, in the unrestrained liberty of his pastures. Another instance: to repeat what cannot be too emphatically urged, 'The *untenableness* of the Scriptural argument seems to *me* quite manifest.' It is for this end we read the Fathers and history; to test the strength of an individual opinion, as opposed to the testimony of thousands. This sort of opinion used to be called by more than one hard name; but we live in the nineteenth century, and have discovered, or are on the eve of discovering, 'a true remedy for the evils of the age;' the greatest of these evils being definite doctrine upon morals. Perhaps the great panacea may be expressed in the saying of the French wit, who discovered that no one was always in the right but himself.

Now Mr. Carrington, in woeful contrast to the Archdeacon, has surrendered that right of private judgment, which we 'have the fullest liberty to exercise,' in the 're-consideration' even of those matters which had been settled by the alleged consent of the Church. He thought, perhaps, that it was his duty to consider these matters before he took orders, and gave his assent

and consent. But Mr. Carrington ought to have known that the Church is only right if you or I agree to what she says : not otherwise. And if you and I, (or you *or* I,) change an opinion, the Church ought to change hers, or, at least, ought to let us think and teach what we please.

The Archdeacon's opinion as to the moral nature of the law of marriage is remarkable. He begins by saying, (p. 27,) that it is 'a matter of great moral and social importance.' And further on, (p. 67,) he alleges, as one of the tests of incest, the 'moral sense of mankind,' the *horror naturalis*, and speaks of a 'profounder inquiry,' that will lead to a proper apprehension of the law of nature. His inquiry is so profound, that we cannot fathom it; like some profound things, it is so dark, that, to use his own phrase, 'we cannot see our way.' For, though allowing the question to be a moral and social one, (and all questions of social conduct involve, we presume, morality,) still he decides that the Law of Leviticus as to marriage was not moral, but ceremonial, (p. 70,) that is, of course, of the same kind which enjoins lustrations, circumcision, the avoidance of certain kinds of food, the burning of lamps and incense; things obviously in the same category. So the works of kindness and justice, and purity and piety, enjoined in Leviticus, are ceremonial; we presume like our ceremonies of wishing good morning and good night, and of paying formal visits. Obviously so, for the Archdeacon has ruled that the moral law consists of the ten commandments only. So that Christians are freed from a very great restraint indeed. They may be worse than Pharisees in every thing but their hypocrisy. And it follows that the New Testament gives no sanction to the law of marriage. We wish the Archdeacon would indulge us with a safety-lamp to guide us through the profundity of his argument, for it seems to us somewhat mephitic, though probably, like some other dark researches, very scientific.

Mr. Carrington, on the contrary, has indulged in an error which runs through the warp and woof of his whole argument. He assumes, rather than asserts, the moral principle upon which the whole Law of Leviticus is based, and seems to take it for granted that a law which is intimately concerned with the dearest human affections, and with the happiness and well-being of society, must be pre-eminently moral, especially since it proceeds from the author of all morality, and has been distinctly noticed in the Gospel and the Apostolic writings. How much is it to be regretted that his views are not deeper, and then perhaps he would see that, notwithstanding the deep moral ends and illimitable social influence, connected with the relations of man and woman, still it is very unphilosophical to infer that

the specific ordinances which regulate them are based upon moral grounds. What would Prussia or Kentucky say to such an inference? Mr. Carrington's notion, (to use Archbishop Whately's term, which his Grace so convincingly applies to the impotence of the restrictive functions of the law,) is a mere 'chimera' of ratiocination, which some Teutonic Bellerophon is fated ere long to destroy.

This sound position, that the whole Law of Leviticus is ceremonial, has an additional support in the Archdeacon's views of Christian liberty. 'Christianity is a law of freedom, not of forms and ceremonies,' (p. 77.) Again, (p. 66,) 'there is no need that marriage should any longer be fenced round by the same outward prohibitions as under the law.' Why? Because Christians have more liberty than the Jews. What liberty means, every schoolboy can tell; every schoolboy, that is, who is left to his own *moral sense*; it means doing just what we like. Therefore Mr. Keble is quite wrong, (p. 67,) when he asserts that the moral law was made more strict by our Lord. Why cannot Mr. Keble tell us something new? His opinion, Mr. Hare maintains, (and we fear the charge is true,) was that of the Fathers and Schoolmen; for Schoolmen, (not Scotus, and the half dozen who followed him,—the happy few, the seven sages,—but that ignorant crowd, that *mob*, as Archdeacon Hare terms assemblies of Churchmen,) the great body of the Schoolmen, had some respect for the uninterrupted belief of the Christian Church. Mr. Keble ought to have gone to the Mischna, or Dr. Adler. And to prove that Mr. Keble is wrong, he quotes S. Paul's Epistles, which show that the ceremonial law is abrogated; and S. Peter's vision, which declares, that what God hath cleansed, man may not call common; and the Council of Jerusalem, which abrogated all the law. Therefore the law of marriage is abrogated. Who is to marry whom is now all guess work. So much the better; the more we can get rid of positive law, the greater is our Christian liberty. And theology then will consist in 'Guesses at truth,' and will be a pleasant pastime, a relaxation from the severer investigations of philosophy.

We cannot quite understand the Archdeacon's views as to the authority and weight to be allowed to cumulative evidence, to a chain of uncontradicted authorities upon any given point. He says, (p. 27,) that it 'is easy to perceive' (easy to himself, he means) 'that a large part of the arguments adduced are utterly strengthless to support the conclusions rested upon them.' By the sequel he would seem to mean the arguments in favour of the Levitical law being binding, and of the marriage of the wife's sister being forbidden. He surely must be a very

Samson who can break through the strong chain of proof which demonstrates that the Church Catholic has so held; or who can pull down upon the heads of the present generation that pillar of truth upon which such momentous questions rested. Such a Samson is Archdeacon Hare; and, like him, blind. He cannot see his way. But if he cannot build up, which requires the organs of vision, he can pull down, which requires none. He says there is 'no consent,' (p. 29,) (so he expresses it in his Charge, *ad Clerum*; in his notes, where he speaks *ad populum*,—to you and me, to the *mob*,—he says, 'there is nothing like a general consent,') in favour of the opinion that every member of a Christian community is prohibited from marrying his wife's sister by any positive precept in the Levitical law. We are not clever enough to understand what he means by 'nothing like,' or 'general.' We thought that a total absence of affirmation of the legality of this connexion, was in itself *something* like a general consent, the image, if not the very thing itself. But more, we should have supposed that the positive declarations of numerous Councils, Fathers, Schoolmen, Bishops, and divines in all ages and countries, uncontradicted throughout Christendom for at least fifteen centuries, was exactly that which we should call general consent; in other words, the voice of the Catholic Church. He must mean that some essential element is wanting; some General, or Generalissimo to head this army; his own person, or Dr. Adler's, or Luther's, Bellarmine's, Caietan's, or one of the seven Dun-Scotian sages above mentioned. But hold:—we see his meaning. There *could* be no general consent; for these Fathers and others, upon whose testimony we had so confidently depended, are 'imaginary leaders,' (p. 29.) Some Niebuhr, we suppose, has arisen to demonstrate that the decrees of the Councils are as pleasant myths as the decades of Livy, and that there is no more reality in S. Basil, S. Augustine, S. Ambrose, and S. Gregory, than in Numitor, Cocles, or Decius Mus. The Archdeacon would lead us to something more substantial. When Christians, for instance, pretend to interpret a verse of Scripture, as the 18th verse of Levit. xviii. it is a 'sufficient' reply, that the Jews, (meaning the Talmudists,) did not so understand it. (P. 28.) And though Christian authorities are 'strengthless,' 'imaginary,' 'utterly untenable,' yet the Jewish Synagogue is to have all and more than the weight of a Catholic Council in deciding one of the most important particulars of the Law of God. However, since, according to the opinion of the day, what is newest is best, he clinches the whole argument, and settles the matter most satisfactorily, by bringing forward an actual living Jew of the

nineteenth century, Dr. Adler, the Rabbi. Dr. Adler accordingly ordains these canons following. 1. Polygamy was clearly allowed by the Divine law. 2. Whatever may be said about the 18th chapter of Leviticus, the 20th contains *all* the degrees 'wholly and for ever forbidden.' (Consequently, since neither father, mother, grandson, nor wife's grandson are mentioned in the 20th chapter, the degrees implied by these relations are not wholly and for ever forbidden,—perhaps are now lawful.) 3. The Rabbis and the Mishna allow the marriage of a wife's sister, (pp. 73—75;) therefore, we suppose, Scripture uncontrovertibly does. His testimony, the Archdeacon says, is conclusive. The Rabbi's canons ought surely to satisfy the most vehement repudiators of the tyranny of Church canons, and the most ardent aspirants after Christian liberty!

We could not at the present moment select a more advantageous contrast to the spirit in which Archdeacon Hare has acted, than the modest and unpretending, but cogent and well reasoned, Sermon of Mr. Carrington. The Archdeacon, in virtue of that license conceded by Bishops to their officials, addressed an assembly of clergymen; his brethren, and, as to ecclesiastical orders, his equals, many of them far his superiors as divines. He selects topics with which they must have all been more or less familiar, especially since they are questions now engrossing the minds of those who serve at the altars of the English Church. One might have expected that he would have prepared for their discussion with the same learned care so visible in the charges of Waterland, and others of our principal divines, who felt that a respect was due to an audience composed of men who were not *planè hospites* in ecclesiastical matters. Instead of which, the Archdeacon treats at least this Marriage question in that rambling popular way, which might befit a pamphlet, or a review, or the columns of a newspaper. It would seem, that when composing his Charge, he had not attended to many of the arguments which appear, as *δευτέραι φρόντιδες*, in his notes. But even upon these he has stumbled at hap-hazard. We cannot believe, we cannot do him the injustice of supposing, that he had studied the exhaustive evidence which the labours of the Royal Commission have brought to light, and for which the Church must be grateful to the profound learning, indefatigable research, and straightforward testimony of those who came forward in defence of the Law of God. It would be impossible for any candid man to rise from its perusal, without at least allowing that great weight was due to facts so clearly adduced; and no one, capable of putting two propositions together, could dare to say, in the face of the Church of England, that what had been

approved by the cumulative authority of the Church was *untenable*, while all but apostolic authority was to be conceded to the Mischna, the Talmud, and Dr. Adler, the Rabbi!

Mr. Carrington, on the other hand, addressed a single country congregation. But instead of contenting himself with assertions, or *ad hominem* arguments, (which in such a position would have been far from illegitimate) he candidly and fairly goes through the whole merits of the question; and, though using a style admirably fitted for his hearers, because plain, affectionate, and earnest, pursues at the same time a method befitting a divine and scholar. He has condensed into the compass of a moderate discourse the heads of the arguments which form the substance of that learned evidence to which we have above alluded. He takes the internal evidence of Holy Scripture; enters into the critical examination of the much disputed verse, (Levit. xviii. 18;) employs the great argument of analogy for the establishment of the Levitical degrees; lays down the principle of the divine law of marriage; shows the identity (as far as regards this law) of consanguinity and affinity; then asserts the laws of Christ and His Apostle respecting marriage; briefly sums up the irrefragable testimony of the Church; and after exposing the sophistries and falsehoods by which the unrighteous cry for a repeal of God's law has been fomented, ends with an appeal to the conscience and hearts of his flock. With all respect for the Archdeacon, we assert, that the arguments against this abominable incest which the children of this world are now endeavouring to legalize, are *adamantine*: that if you resist them, you may as well resist all positive law altogether. Great and eternal principles are involved in this matter, which show it to be far from an isolated question. Make it an open question, and what single principle can be evolved from the positive precepts of Law or Gospel? We are therefore most thankful to Mr. Carrington for having performed so useful a service, as bringing before the minds of the people those arguments which had hitherto been confined to the more educated and the learned; and we have much satisfaction in knowing that his statements have already done much towards kindling that righteous indignation, that zealous love for purity, truth, and religion, which has been already shown throughout the British nation: we require however such men as Mr. Carrington to preserve the people from being further infected with the bad examples of the Continent, and with the sophistries of a luxurious and selfish civilization.

Upon this great subject, it would be impossible to avoid damaging the cause by special pleading, unless it be laid down,

in limine, that the principle of the law of marriage is contained in the primeval decree of God, (Gen. ii. 24,) and that our blessed Lord, in establishing the Christian law, restored it to what it had been at the beginning. That it was so restored, is a commonplace of theology. The decree, 'they twain shall be one flesh,' establishes the principle of which the 18th chapter of Leviticus is but the evolution. Since man and wife are one flesh, therefore, the blood relations of the husband must be the blood relations of the wife, and those of the wife the blood relations of the husband. From this principle applied to the natural law, forbidding the marriage of next of kin, follows the law of incest. The very Hebrew expression translated 'next of kin,' but literally 'flesh of his flesh,' (as stated in the evidence,) obviously connects itself with the law announced in Genesis. From this law, 'they twain shall be one flesh,' equally follows the prohibition of polygamy. The word *twain* demonstrates this. It may be objected, and doubtless Dr. Adler would remind Mr. Hare, that this word is not found in the Hebrew of Genesis ii. 24. But it is found in all the places where it is quoted in the New Testament.¹ This is sufficient to show, that it ought to be in the Hebrew. And here is one simple proof how little Jews are to be trusted in any matters connected with the interpretation even of those Scriptures of which they claim to be the guardians. But not only this. The word is found in the LXX., which version, we know, was of great authority among the Jews themselves, till, on account of some untoward evidence which it afforded against their nation, they thought proper to repudiate it. Dr. Adler of course will tell the Archdeacon, that any argument to be derived from the LXX. is utterly 'strengthless.' However, as the Archdeacon likes strong facts, here is one for him. This same word occurs in the Samaritan text, thus confirming the version of the LXX., which, however, is by no means, as has been carelessly alleged, a copy from the Samaritan. Here we cannot but suspect that the omission is a piece of Jewish fraud, similar in kind to others of which the Samaritan text furnishes the presumption. For instance, in Exodus xxi. 28, and in the sequel of that and the following chapter, the word *beast* of the Samaritan is uniformly *ox* in the Hebrew; and in the 32d verse, the Samaritan has, 'if a beast shall wound,' (the verb being a general term,) the Hebrew, 'if an ox shall *push*,' (a particular term,) an alteration which evidently shows design. It looks like a disposition on the part of the Jews to make a cloak for their own avarice and injustice, by narrowing the letter of the law; and as they held by the letter, they would

¹ S. Matt. xix. 5. S. Mark x. 8. Eph. v. 31. 1 Cor. vi. 16.

not admit, in this or in other cases, the merciful law of analogy. Now the omission of the word *twain* would certainly weaken, though it could not destroy, the inferential prohibition of polygamy. This nation, as proud at the present day as they were in the Lord's time of having Abraham for their father, could not brook the notion of casting an apparent slur upon his conduct and that of the Patriarchs, in those days when God was pleased to tolerate what He had at the first forbidden.

But now let us look to the law of Christ. Unless we cease to be Christians, we cannot resist the interpretation universally given to our Lord's declaration, as prohibitory of polygamy. It is true, that the relaxation of the law which he mentions specifically, is divorce; but the primeval law, 'they twain shall be one flesh,' *à fortiori* applies to polygamy. If it be said, that polygamy was permitted by the law of Moses, so was divorce. And Moses wrote the one, as the other, on account of the hardness of the people's hearts; and in that same portion of the Law which contains the municipal code, the peculiarly national ordinances of the Hebrews; a consideration which Archdeacon Hare has totally overlooked, when seeking to overturn the obligation of the moral law in Leviticus, (p. 71,) by arguing that if we are to keep one part of the law of Moses, we must keep all. The Church has unhesitatingly, by her practice, at least, shown the essential difference between the two. So that our Lord, so far from never legislating on the subject of marriage, and leaving what Archdeacon Hare calls the Church, (we do not know what that is, however,) to exercise her free judgment upon matters of detail;—so far, from our Lord having given us more liberty in this respect—He has imposed afresh the primeval restraint, and in so doing has respected man's true liberty, has restored the Christian wife to her original holy dignity, and has abrogated every permission which for a time interfered with the Divine Law of Marriage, that is, as the whole Church has understood it, with the 18th chapter of Leviticus.

In showing that the law of analogy is that by which the 18th chapter is to be construed, Mr. Carrington's observations are very cogent:—

'What is that which is attempted in England at the present moment? No man proposes, or thinks of proposing, that a man should marry his brother's wife: no, every man feels that it would be pollution to him to live with a woman who was before married to his brother. Men account themselves too pure to hear of such a thing; but they do not think a woman defiled by living with a man who was before married to her sister; they do not think woman too pure for this: they account a woman's purity of so far less consequence, or of so far less degree, that whilst they think it impure for a man to be united to a woman before married to his brother, they consider that sisters, no matter how many, can, without defilement or degra-

dation, be married by the same husband. See the depth of selfish licentiousness in the proposition. The proposers of the change say, I would not on any account sully myself by marrying a woman already married to my brother; but if a woman chooses to marry me, who have before married her sister, this does not sully me; and, as for her, either it does not matter, or there is such a difference between man and woman, that what is impure for me is pure enough for her. This, I say, is doing a dishonour, and inflicting a disgrace upon woman, not to be endured.'—P. 13.

This is the whole secret. Christian men are too often Turks in their estimate of women. No other reason but that of their own degrading notions can be assigned for their wretched attempt to upset the law of analogy; and if that be once destroyed, farewell to reason, religion, and common sense!

But Archdeacon Hare dwells upon the *moral sense of mankind*, the *horror naturalis*, the *conscience of the nation*, as being sufficient preservatives against such branches of incest as he thinks fit to condemn, and, we presume, as arguments for this specific connexion. Let us see, however. Does he mean, the moral sense of all mankind? Is there such an universal consent? Take all together, savages, Turks, Greeks, and Romans, and can he pretend to say that there is any unison in their suffrages? Who does not know that many instances of what all Christians acknowledge to be incest have actually been tolerated by human laws? The old Roman law alone demonstrates this. Where was the *horror naturalis* of Assyrian, Mede, Persian; 'even of the most honoured persons among them, their kings and magi?' as Jeremy Taylor remarks,¹ while showing the wide-spread and almost incredible profligacy of the ancient Gentiles. But the Archdeacon knows, and has maintained in his former writings, against the low philosophy of Paley and his school, that morals must found their basis upon God's revelation. And as for conscience, what is conscience, but the perception of the rule of right which God has revealed? Among the heathens, then, where this revelation was so very imperfect, conscience must have continually erred.

But Archdeacon Hare, in endeavouring to apologize for this particular kind of incest, draws distinctions which do not exist. He wishes to soften the force of the word *abomination*, as applied to some of these sins, urging that it cannot apply, (in its sense of moral reprobation,) to the marriage of a husband's brother, and of course not to a wife's sister, because God had in Deuteronomy, in an exceptional case, permitted the marriage of a husband's brother, and therefore God never could permit what was morally wrong. A sufficient answer for this is, that God can relax his own laws. But that this connexion is *in itself*

¹ Ductor Dub. Book II. ch. ii. Rule 3.

as abominable as any of the other connexions, appears clearly for the reason given in the 16th verse, the same that is given in other places. But it is with astonishment, almost amounting to horror, that we read the following attempt made, (p. 73,) to invalidate the force of the word. 'Much stress has indeed been laid by some persons, whose zeal has outstripped their knowledge (?) on the word *abomination*, which is supposed to be applied to all the marriages enumerated in the Levitical table: but such persons may be advised to look into other parts of Leviticus, for instance into the 11th chapter, where they will see that the term had MORE OF A CEREMONIAL THAN A MORAL FORCE, (!!!) and that a number of things were called abomination, which morally were altogether indifferent, and which therefore were cleansed summarily in S. Peter's vision.' Mr. Hare ought to know that the word *abomination*, according to scriptural language, means sin, that is, transgression against God's law, including, like the word sin, greater or less degrees. But what a critic must he be who sends us for an explanation of the word to chapters totally distinct, and which treat of sins of altogether a different kind and class. The classification in Holy Scripture is very distinct, and the moral is clearly separated from the ceremonial. It is sad that any one should insinuate that *abomination* has chiefly a ceremonial sense, or that it is most frequently so used. Under this term are included theft, lying, false witness, a false balance, pride, murder, and pre-eminently and emphatically, adultery, and idolatry; the last in particular being denounced as an abomination, in terms of the sternest horror and hatred. The chapter before us confines the use of the word to sins of the deepest turpitude, and under denunciations of the most terrific vengeance. The commonest rules of construction, (whatever Dr. Adler may possibly think,) prove this. The chapter is complete in itself. It begins with that solemn formula which uniformly announces a distinct division of the Law; 'And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, I am the Lord your God.' And then, having gone through the cognate topics of legislation, this division is concluded, and a new one begun in chapter xix. with the same prefatory formula. It is acknowledged that the preamble, as it were, of the divine law, contains a warning against the evil doings of Canaan and Egypt, namely, all those which are enumerated in the following verses. These being specified, the 25th verse and the others to the end connect themselves with the introductory verses, and plainly show and declare that *each* and *every* transgression specified was an Egyptian or Canaanitish sin, and an *abomination*. 'Defile not yourselves in any of these things; for in all these the nations are defiled which I cast out before you. . . . Ye shall not

'commit any of *these abominations*; for all *these abominations* have the men of the land done. . . . Whoso shall commit any of *these abominations*, even the souls that commit them shall be cast off from among the people. Therefore shall ye keep mine ordinances, that you commit not *any one* of these *'abominable customs.'* By what possible 'quirk or quiddity' of criticism can these words be dissociated from the specific prohibitions of marriage? By what straining of ingenuity can it be insinuated that these terrific sins are *e pari materia* with bats and snails?

It is therefore quite impossible to except the sin of marrying a wife's sister from these dreadful denunciations, upon any law of analogy;—but analogy is too feeble an expression,—of necessary, intuitive inference. The only argument that can with any colour be adduced is the inferential one, (not analogical or consequential, but, at best, remotely inferential,) derived from the received construction of the 18th verse, one of the most difficult in Scripture, and confessedly capable, at least, of other meanings. Towards properly understanding it, let us observe what is sufficiently obvious, that the 18th chapter, in announcing a general law against moral turpitude, divides that law into several sections, which are not to be confounded. Most of these are cognate, all indeed except the two contained in the 21st verse, but these are included as being among the Canaanitish sins. The first section is the law of marriage; a subject of its own nature admitting of specification. Hence the illustrations down to the end of verse 17. There is no copulative particle, however, connecting the verses which specify them, which plainly indicates that they are not isolated enactments, but the necessary developments of the law announced in verse 6. To use the words of a divine, much despised by Mr. Hare, but by no one else whom we know—Dr. Hammond: 'The former interdicts, (meaning those which precede verse 18,) had been given upon the reason of propinquity, and accordingly that reason distinctly mentioned, first in general, verse 6, and then pursued in all needful particulars of it, to the end of verse 17. But the interdict here is upon a new reason, that of *vexing*, which is an evidence that the first sort of interdicts, (continued for twelve persons,) is now quite finished, and that another head is begun against more wives than one; and accordingly, upon that ensue also divers other new and particular commands to the end of the chapter.' Now, to each of these six commands the particle *vau* is prefixed, not so much as a copulative as a sectional mark. These are not such as admit of detail, like the law of

¹ Of Marrying a Wife's Sister. Section 17.

marriage, and therefore are very brief. They form, besides, a climax of abominations; the sin of sacrificing to Moloch, and of profaning God's name, occupying their proper place in the scale. It would therefore appear, on the face of it, that the sin denounced in verse 18, was of a different kind from that which had preceded; otherwise, its proper place would have been after the 16th verse. And it will be evident, that if this sin be allowed to mean polygamy, it will come in exactly where such a prohibition would be expected.

Now, this view is fully borne out by our translator's marginal rendering, 'one wife with another.' Of course, to Dr. Adler, the Rabbi, such an authority is nothing; and who but a Hebrew can be a Hebraist? Mr. Hare may say, What is a margin? or he may value our English translation as little as the Archbishop of Dublin does, who alarmed the good people of his diocese a few years ago, by telling them that the English version is not the Bible. Besides, our translators lived in the dark ages. But, let us hear Dr. Adler, the Rabbi. 'The rendering adopted 'by the Caraites, *one wife to another*, is not only destitute of 'ALL authority, and discordant with the spirit of the sacred 'language,' &c. &c. Of course, no Talmudist will admit the authority of a Caraites. And as to the testimony of Dr. Hammond, though Mr. Badcley quoted it with praise in his evidence, the Archdeacon despises it, and thus quashes it, (p. 85 :) 'Hammond, with his usual aptness for running on a wrong sent,' [is this a printer's error, or one of the Archdeacon's odd bits of spelling?] 'adopts the notion that one verse was intended to 'be a prohibition of polygamy; a position which we,' [*i.e.* self and Adler,] 'have already seen to be untenable.' Untenable, we beg to remind our readers, means a thing which Archdeacon Hare does not hold. Positively, we cannot see how the censure applies. But, as the Archdeacon *does* see his way here, we suppose the question is settled; particularly as we find a 'German Romanist,' and a German Protestant lawyer, asserting the legality of disputed degree—without proof indeed; but who would oppose Hammond, a mere English D.D. of the seventeenth century, to foreign sages of the nineteenth, to Walter or Eichhorn? (Some untoward associations, by the way, are suggested to English divines by the latter name.) So, as to authority, *res acta est*.

The question is one of internal evidence. Mr. Dwight, in his excellent little work, 'The Hebrew Wife,' (p. 86—89,) has most successfully shown that the Hebrew phrases, 'a man to his brother,' and 'a woman to her sister,' *in every passage* where they occur, do not imply blood relationship; the phrases mean 'one man or woman to another,' or 'one thing to another,' as the context may require. Of course, the phrase may occasion-

ally imply brotherhood; as when 'one said to another,' that other may be a brother; but its use is uniformly that of connexion or relation, totally distinct from kindred. Mr. Dwight indeed has not done full justice to himself; for he has left unnoticed seven examples, which completely bear out this rule.¹ So that, so far from Dr. Adler being right, we assert, that to say that this interpretation of Lev. xviii. 18 is inconsistent with the spirit of the language, would be to make a totally gratuitous exception to a fixed Hebrew idiom, an idiom which all Hebrew scholars admit in many instances, though strangely overlooking its universality. But it is as clear in all the other passages. The verse then cannot apply, we will venture to say, to a wife's sister. Every argument drawn from internal evidence—the idiom, the position of the verse, the whole analogy of the divine law—supports our construction, nay, forbids any other.

It is true, that neither S. Basil nor the Fathers gave this translation. But it must be borne in mind, that the LXX. was their authority, and that, as was very frequently the case, the translation gave the words their literal primary meaning in the Greek. But that the Fathers felt the difficulty, is evident from the various conjectural renderings which they gave. Had Archdeacon Hare's negative of general consent been applied to this verse, he would be right. But, in their very attempts to reconcile this with the context, we have a tacit, a very strong negative acknowledgment, that they never considered the chapter to allow the marriage of a wife's sister, or in the least to disturb the inevitable analogy. There is not a hint, except in the matter of Dionysius of Tarsus, of such an explanation being thought of. But Mr. Carrington gives an excellent summary of the argument on this point:—

'We see then that this verse, as those who think it lawful to marry their wife's sisters, rest their opinion, in whatever way you take it, does not actually and plainly allow it. Translate it as you will, the utmost that can be said is, that it is *not certain* that this verse *forbids* it, or that the Hebrew will bear a reading which does not forbid it; whilst, at the same time, there are three other renderings, one of which would forbid bigamy, and two of which would directly forbid the marriage in question. So that if this verse, which every one owns is difficult, was all that the Old Testament said on the subject, it would certainly be more likely that the marriage was forbidden, than that it was allowed; especially since all the learned men, and early saints, all the Churches, and Christian assemblies, from the first ages down to quite modern times, and also all the greatest and most learned men of our

¹ The examples given by Mr. Dwight are Gen. xiii. 11, xxvi. 31, xxxvii. 19, xlii. 21—28. Exod. x. 23, xvi. 15, xxv. 20, xxvi. 3, (twice,) 5, 6, 17, xxxvii. 9. Lev. vii. 10, xviii. 18, xxv. 14—46, xxvi. 37. Numb. xiv. 4. Deut. xxv. 11. Neh. iv. 19. Job. xli. 17. Jer. xiii. 14, xxv. 26, xxxiv. 14. Ezek. i. 9, ii. 23, iii. 13, iv. 17, xxiv. 23, xxxiii. 30, xlvii. 14. Joel ii. 8.

The examples omitted are Isaiah ix. 18, xix. 2. Jer. xxxi. 34. Ezek. xxxviii. 21. Haggai ii. 22. Zech. vii. 9. Mal. ii. 10.

own Church, and the very men who translated this verse, since all of these, with this verse and chapter before them, and many of them writing about this verse and chapter, not only declared, that marriage with a wife's sister was not allowed by them, but moreover, that by this chapter it was actually forbidden.—P. 6.

We have already anticipated the most important evidence by which it is clear that our Saviour confirmed the law of marriage. But a few words remain to be said upon that monstrous proposition, to which Archdeacon Hare gives encouragement, namely, that all *positive* legislation, or matters of detail prescribed by the law, were rendered no longer obligatory by Christ, and that he enforced *principles* alone, (p. 69.) And so very vague would the Archdeacon make these principles, that their consequences, or the practical details involved in them, must be a matter of great uncertainty and doubt: so uncertain, that different Christian communities may differ, and exercise an absolute and independent discretion in their definitions and sanctions. It is surely needless to enter into any lengthened refutation of this. As to the law of marriage, of divorce, of adultery, our Lord's legislation is sufficiently positive. Besides, as we have endeavoured to show, it had for its object all those provisions of the Levitical law, which were not clearly permissive and temporary. And thus our Lord's interpretation and *restoration* of the law, in these particulars, was but a part of His great design of a more perfect exposition of the Moral Law, which He came, not to destroy, but to fulfil. This is a common-place of divinity, like others which we have been forced to reassert. But when our Archdeacon chooses to question that as a theorem, which the Church has made an axiom, we are obliged to recur to the vexatious task of laying again those principles of the doctrine of Christ, whose discussion hinders men from going on unto perfection. The laws which were typical, national, and local, and peculiar to the Theocracy, could not of course apply to the Church Universal; but as to the moral and eternal law, not only in its moral principles, but in its particular precepts, this the Gospel has confirmed. In arguing against this, Mr. Hare attacks, not Mr. Keble, as he supposes, but what is commonly called the Church Universal. It is perfect neology to deny the plain end and meaning of the Sermon on the Mount, the object of which was to make the old Moral law not less strict, but more spiritual. Our Lord, by the very reformation of certain details, demonstrated that his legislation recognised a *law of particulars*. It is an assertion fraught with portentous mischief to say, that Christ's law is one of liberty, as men understand liberty, whether intellectual or physical, that is, freedom from all wholesome restraint. The Gospel is no favourer of idealism, or eclectic

speculation; but, while it exalts and strengthens the intellect as well as the affections, it curbs them by a definite discipline. The laws of physical nature are but typical of those of Christianity. The natural *liberty* of the flower, of the fruit, of the tree, and of the stream, must be restrained and checked, in order to maturity, fragrance, beauty, and utility. And so the human creature, in order to attain to the fullest exercise of his highest powers, in other words, his truest liberty, must be subjected to that rigid discipline, against which the unregenerate nature of the animal will ever rebel.

If we have at all mistaken Archdeacon Hare, it must at least be allowed, that the whole tone of his Charge and the notes betrays a sensitive antipathy to restraint and authority. His idea of Protestantism is, a protest against every thing in which *I* cannot clearly see my way, which *I* consider *untenable*. There are some inferences to be gathered from his view of the law of Christ which are sufficiently distressing. After quoting (p. 75,) Dr. Adler's testimony, on marriage, polygamy, and *divorce*, he runs foul of Mr. Keble, as he does of every one ancient or modern who differs from himself, because of the following sentiment, in which we hope most Christians would concur. 'What Christian would follow the Talmudists in such matters? they being the very interpreters of whom our Lord said, *Except your righteousness exceed theirs, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven*;—the blind guides, who taught men that they were not answerable for evil thoughts; that they should love their neighbour, but might hate their enemy; that if they said *Corban*, it would excuse them from helping their parents.' On which Mr. Hare observes, 'In other words, because the judges in James the Second's time wrested the law, therefore the consentient interpretation of our lawyers for ten or twelve centuries is unworthy of attention. Yet the matter in question is no way connected with the great pervading error of the Jews; nor is there the slightest intimation in the New Testament; that the Jewish lawyers were in error on this point; though, had their practice been a perversion of the law, opportunities for reprehending it would easily have occurred.'

Is not the answer obvious? The parallel does not hold. What parallel is there between a law binding the whole world, interpreted by a set of judges who belong only to a very small part of it, and who are no longer its best interpreters; and the law of a particular country, administered by those national judges who alone are its interpreters? What value would you attach to twelve centuries of republican judges upon a point of royal prerogative, or to a ten-fathomed Catena of Muftis and

Imaums upon the Pragmatic sanction? Do the Rabbis occupy the seat of Christ or His Apostles? Is the key of knowledge still in Jewish hands? And when they had it, did they use it aright? What miserable trifling is this, to say that a question involving analogical interpretation of Scripture, and a deep moral question, to decide which they have shown themselves incompetent, is, *in no way*, connected with their great pervading error? The consummation and fruit of their error was the rejection of their Lord: but the root from which this apple of Sodom sprang was that heinous perversion of the law, some instances of which Mr. Keble so justly specifies. Our Lord struck at this very root, and attacked it not in one instance, but in many. Hence those awful Woes, which condemn them alike as misinterpreters and misdoers. It is not only the privilege, but the duty of Christ's Church to reconsider their interpretations in general by the light of the Gospel. The Mischna and Talmud are witnesses against themselves, and bring into full light the force of our Lord's denunciations. But it is enough to dismiss these *gratis dicta* of the Archdeacon, with the words of Bishop Hall, applied to one who desired to contract an unlawful alliance; 'As for the modern Jews, to whom he stretches out his hand for succour, it matters little what they teach or do. They are not more without God, than without honesty and credit; their opinions are fabulous, their judgment frivolous, and their practice not worth our knowledge or regard.'

And now, as to the sanction of the Levitical law by the Apostles. On this point the Archdeacon has enunciated a canon which, astounding as it is, must doubtless be an agreeable surprise to all lovers of liberty. . . . 'Without any need of inquiring how far . . . the Levitical law is to be regarded as still binding upon Christians, after our having been expressly 'releas't (we suppose he means *released*) 'from it by the 'Apostolic Council at Jerusalem.' If we may put in a word, it strikes us that the Levitical law contains some injunctions against fornication and idolatry. Therefore we are *released* by the Apostles from the restraint of these 'ceremonial' ordinances. Certainly it must be a great release to be left to our own 'eagle-sighted' wisdom in the ordering of our religious or moral conduct. Now, as we read it, these two abominations (if Mr. Hare will allow us to call them so) are expressly forbidden by the Apostolic decree. So far they agree with the law of Moses, and also in a particular strictly ceremonial, as to abstinence from things strangled. It may indeed be answered, that the things forbidden did not so much belong to the law of Moses as to those laws which are called by some—'the seven precepts of the sons of Noah,' as Dr. Hammond (*in loco*) explains.

But even so, Mr. Hare will be in no way advantaged, since among these precepts the fourth was, abstaining from all uncleanness, and interdicted marriages, set down in Lev. xviii. But unhappily for the Archdeacon, the very words of the Apostolic decree do not leave us without specific guidance. The word *πορνεία*, as Mr. Keble justly remarks, (though with a modesty of opinion which Mr. Hare might advantageously imitate) plainly comprehends incest, as appears from S. Paul's use of it in 1 Cor. v. 1. And from the whole context of the New Testament, it is evident, that the word embraces the cognate sins enumerated in the chapter of Leviticus. These were so heinous, as perpetually to be classed with idolatry. It is plain therefore that the Apostolic decree refers to some known standard, which defined incest by instances; since no specification is made in that decree, nor any alteration of an existing standard intimated.

Now this standard must have been either Gentile or Jewish. To suppose it the former would be of course absurd. The conclusion therefore is irresistible, that the Apostolic decree forbids incest, as defined by holy Scripture. The very first council of the Church regards the law of marriage as a matter of primary concern. Otherwise, we, the Christian world, have positively no divine law whatever, nothing to check most abominable sin—against which, as we have shown above, the supposed moral sense is no safeguard whatever. And yet notwithstanding this perilous alternative, he says, we are *released* from the law of God! Can Antinomianism go further?

But now for a few words upon that testimony and authority which Mr. Hare either doubts or despises: we mean the Councils, and Fathers, and Divines of the Church from the fourth century downwards. We cannot enter into the chain of evidence which is so well known to the Church, in consequence of the late commission. But it may be briefly summed up thus. That the Levitical law in this respect has been declared to be moral, unchangeable, and consequently binding on us, by numerous Councils of the Church, since the fourth century, that is, before the Council of Nice, in Spain, France, Britain, Italy, and in the East, where it binds all communions whether orthodox or heretical; that the voice of S. Basil in the East, and of S. Augustine, S. Gregory, and S. Ambrose in the West, were in this matter in perfect harmony; that Popes, even in the plenitude of their power, declared this to be a Divine law, from which they could in no way grant dispensation; that so taught Aquinas, with a host of Canonists, and school divines; so likewise the principal reformers on the continent, Calvin, Beza, Luther, Melancthon; so our own divines, the

framers of our Canons; so the recorded voice of the Church of England; so the law of England, expounded by her judges, the most learned, upright, and venerable in the world; so even the Archdeacon's friends the Talmudists, who confess that the Levitical law of degrees, not only as far as the *litera scripta* goes, but even to a considerable degree of analogy, is binding on all mankind. On the other side we have Dun Scotus, and a few of his followers, certain post-Tridentine lawyers and divines, hampered with the perplexities of modern Papal dispensations, certain liberal Germans and other continentalists, all speaking, be it remembered, their own individual opinions; a few scattered names here and there,—and ARCHDEACON HARE. It is quite clear, at least, that for centuries there was no doubt whatever that the law was binding on the Church.

There is one name, indeed, which Mr. Hare brings forward as a *malleus heterodoxorum*, a sledge-hammer to crush all those who think differently from himself: this is Jeremy Taylor. But then, fortunately for the cause of truth, the Bishop makes this untenable assertion, (a most extraordinary slip in one so learned,) '*I know but one Schoolman that dissents; I mean Paludanus; if there be any more, I am sure they are but very few, vel duo, vel nemo.*' Now Petrus de Palude, or Paludanus, flourished about 1330. We need but refer to the very learned and exhaustive evidence before the commissioners, to show that the Divine Law of Marriage was considered identical with the Levitical, unchangeable and consequently binding, by Thomas Aquinas in 1255, Albertus Magnus, in 1260, Richard de Media Villa, in 1290; Maronius, in 1315; Durandus a S. Portiano in 1320; Petrus Aurelius in 1321; John Bacon in 1329: to say nothing of a cloud of witnesses down to the sixteenth century of Canonists and Divines. The Decretals expressly say that the Levitical is the divine law, and that the marriage of the wife's sister is contrary to it; and they declare that the Pope has no power whatever to dispense with the Levitical degrees, because that would be contrary to God's word. The fact is, Taylor was on this point unaccountably blinded by Dun Scotus (who flourished in 1301), and some half dozen names which followed him, who are the sole advocates, at least till much latter times, of the uncatholic side of the question. But see to what consequence Bishop Taylor's positions would lead, at least with men of Archdeacon Hare's liberal aspirations. Bishop Taylor justly lays down the principle, that the law of nature is the law of God. But in his observations on prohibited degrees, he considers that only the marriages with parents are forbidden by the law of nature: consequently as the Levitical law (as he lays down) is not binding on Christians,

there is no positive law whatever against the most frightful abominations! We wish Mr. Hare joy of such an argument!¹

Yet in justice to Bishop Taylor and to the Scotists, it is but reasonable to believe, that their high respect and obedience to the laws and sanctions of the Church universal, would place them in a very different position, with respect to this question, from Archdeacon Hare, who is his own Church; and who regards the ninety-ninth canon of our Church with no greater intrinsic respect than a turnpike act. Jeremy Taylor might only mean this: that though the Jewish law of marriage has not been confirmed by any special enactment of Christ; still this position, though dangerously weakening the force of its obligation on us, and contradicted as it is by facts, yet does not exclude the acknowledgement that it was confirmed by the Apostles, and by the voice of the Universal Church. His views of the Sabbath, as explained by comparing one part of his works with another, would make this supposition very probable. Though we must confess our opinion, that the *Ductor Dubitantium* is the most unequal, and far from the most profitable of his works: and on some questions it is calculated to lead the doubter, not to a solution, but into further doubts. It certainly, in the present instance, puts him on a 'wrong scent,' as it seems to have done with Mr. Hare; and on a very calm review of the Archdeacon's objection, we cannot but be strongly of opinion that on this particular question Dr. Hammond wrote with far greater perspicuity, breadth of learning, and judgment.

With respect to the authority claimed and exercised by the Church upon the subject of the lawful degrees, Archdeacon Hare has made a strange, and, for a professed divine, a most unpardonable confusion. He assumes that the Church, (which to him is nothing more than an ecclesiastical parliament,) dealt with the question solely upon abstract notions of what was according to human judgment right or wrong. 'The practice of the Church, so far as we can trace it, that is, from the fourth century downward, appears rather to have been to assume that the principle which ought to determine what persons should be prohibited from marrying, is that laid down in Lev. xviii. 6; and that it rested with her to *evolve that principle into its consequences*, with the help of the clue afforded by the Levitical table itself.' (P. 65.) This proposition, rightly understood, is true. But in order to its right understanding, we must grant that the context of Leviticus draws some of these

¹ For some admirable observations on the authority of Jeremy Taylor as a Casuist we must refer our readers to the notes to Mr. Forster's Sermon, which has appeared since this article was written.

consequences, and that it only rested with the Church to announce the remaining *necessary, inevitable* inferences. But he goes on: 'In so doing, the Church gradually advanced from 'one restriction to another, until men's hearts and souls were 'surrounded in this as in other things, by all manner of NETS 'AND GINS,'—(a dutiful notice of the Church Universal! Mr. Hare seems to be haunted with images connected with game and the chase: the Church is a mighty hunter, using all sorts of terrible engines to terrify and snare innocent animals like himself;)—'for the Judaic spirit had taken possession of her,' (let the Archdeacon beware of Dr. Adler and the Mischna,) 'as it will ever do of religion, when the primacy of faith is set 'aside.' We do not understand this last expression; but it is too much in Mr. Carlyle's misty style to be either ornamental or edifying. However, to drop all minor criticism, it is plain that the Archdeacon confounds two things; the Scriptural restraints which the Church *universally* put upon those degrees prohibited by the *divine*, that is, the *Levitical* law; and the artificial restraints which different portions of the Church, long after the age of the Apostles, put upon degrees not forbidden in Scripture; but which were superadded from motives of propriety, or prudence, or supposed analogy to that law which all received. To any sciolist in Church law the distinction between the divine law, and the laws, not of the Church, but of different branches of the Church, is as wide as possible. And upon this point we need only refer to the evidence.

Now as to the judgment of the Church upon the question of the wife's sister, the Archdeacon, finding it impossible to evade the clearness of the testimony which makes against such a connexion, endeavours to weaken it by special pleas. Let us see how far these can avail him. He throws a slur upon the Apostolical canons, by urging the uncertainty of their origin and of their primitive authority. It is at least acknowledged by scholars that they were very ancient, and that they spoke the sense of the Church in the fourth century. He says, however, that there is no reason for supposing that there was any direct reference to the Levitical law, in the prohibition against the marriage of a wife's sister made by the 19th of those canons. We cannot conceive why it may not be fairly implied, or considered at least as very probable; especially if explained by the express enactments by canons in subsequent times on the same subject, which recognise the Levitical law. The Church was till long after at unity with itself on matters of doctrine and practice. But he says, 'this canon stands alongside of similar 'prohibitions, the chief part of which may become persons called 'to the sanctity of the ministerial office, *but are no way fitted to*

'be the subjects of civil legislation.' (P. 81.) But let us remind the Archdeacon, that the question is not now of civil but of ecclesiastical legislation. Perhaps, however, he means legislation for 'civilians,' *i. e.* for lay people. Suppose it so: the 17th canon puts similar restrictions on a clerk who has a concubine, the 18th canon on one who keeps a harlot: the 25th deposes a Bishop or Presbyter who has committed fornication, perjury, or theft. Therefore the Church has no business to interfere with the liberty of laymen, if they choose to forswear themselves, thief, or lead profligate lives:—or civil legislation has no right to punish, or have any cognizance of these crimes! A doctrine fitter for wild satyrs than men. Then, because the ancient council of Eliberis, held long before the council of Nice, ONLY excommunicated for five years a man who had committed this incest, he argues, from this mild punishment, that the marriage was not dissolved, or pronounced invalid! Has the Archdeacon ever endeavoured to realize the notion of excommunication, as enforced in the early Church; or what it must be to be five long years without Sacraments, without the Church's blessing, to be separated for no trifling portion of matured life from the society of Christians? Nay, the fair inference must be, that such extreme punishment of necessity implies the dissolution of the marriage. It certainly would so appear from S. Basil's letter. Had the Church allowed its validity, this would have been a sanction of sin. As well might we say that a thief might return to his thieving after the time of Church punishment was expired, or retain his stolen goods during its operation.

But now the Archdeacon pronounces his oracular judgment on the celebrated letter of S. Basil to Diodorus.

Κέκλυτέ μεν, Τρώες, καὶ Δάρδανοι, ἡδ' ἐπικούροι.

First we have a bit of criticism, though quite foreign to the argument. It is 'written with that turgid exaggeration which 'characterizes the Greek Fathers, almost as much as the 'sophists and rhetoricians of *their* age.' (P. 81.) Whose age? Did the *Fathers* all belong to the first age of the Church, and the *sons* to the next, as a luminous tyro in theology once conjectured? We had supposed that there was as great a difference in the style as in the age of S. Clement and S. Chrysostom, as there is in that of S. Basil and Theophylact. And as for S. Basil, it has generally been imagined that his style was peculiarly elegant, especially in his epistles. The truth is, the Archdeacon sees this celebrated letter with jaundiced eyes. He speaks of its 'logical quirks and quiddities.' There is nothing of the kind in it. The manifest object of the letter was, not to put forward any theory of the writer's

own, or any sophistry spun from his individual brain, but earnestly and indignantly to assert the doctrine of the Church as it had been ever held, and to base it upon the well-known doctrine of Holy Scripture. He begins in a tone of righteous indignation, worthy of a Christian Bishop, scandalized at an immoral innovation, all the more heinous for being cloked under a supposed sanction of Holy Scripture. Mr. Hare considers that the τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν ἔθος, νόμον δυνάμει ἔχον, was the custom of S. Basil's diocese only! Who then was Diodorus of Tarsus? But does the context allow the probability of such a narrow restriction? διὰ τὸ ὑφ' ἁγίων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς θεσμοὺς ἡμῖν παραδοθῆναι. Θεσμοὺς, *sacred laws*, as Dr. Pusey has justly observed. We would appeal to any patristic scholar, whether this form of expression τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν is not fairly applicable to the whole orthodox Christian Church: and whether, if the opposite custom had been ever licensed, S. Basil would have been suffered to appeal to those holy men of whom he speaks, and who, we have very little doubt, from the solemnity of the whole context, were Apostolic men at least. The παραδοθῆναι of S. Basil is evidently that sacred tradition, upon which the Fathers of Nice acted in the same century: it is a solemn ecclesiastical term, the καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν of S. Luke; and as for the 'custom that we have,' this is the cognate expression with that of the Apostle, 'we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God.' 'Customs and laws we know,' says the Archdeacon, 'are subject to the same processes of mutation with every thing earthly.'—Yes; but not so the θεσμοὶ of immutable morality; and here he confounds a law and its sanction. The Church may vary its punishment for a specific sin, according to the necessity of time or countries, but it can never by any law make that not to be sin which God has declared such;—whether God has so declared or not, is the whole matter in dispute. And then he argues that the punishment of excommunication, till the marriage be dissolved, *plainly belongs* to an age later than the council of Eliberis; merely, we suppose, because the term of five years is omitted in S. Basil's letter, and the dissolution of the marriage in the other; as if these are not perfectly consistent. Reconciliation to the Church was not allowed *at least* till the dissolution of the marriage; this might be the universal custom; that of Spain—and the acts of this particular Council have been generally considered of remarkable strictness—might probably superadd a five years' penance. To the next proposition of S. Basil the translation of the Archdeacon hardly does justice: 'with regard to things very evident, our preconceptions are more valuable than our reason.' S. Basil's

words are, ἐπὶ τῶν σφόδρα ἐναργῶν, μείζων ἐστὶ τοῦ λόγου ἢ παρ' ἐκάστου προλήψις, i.e. in things glaringly manifest, each man's previous apprehension is superior to reasoning. The thing was so palpably monstrous, as appeared both by Church authority, Scriptural law, and the better feelings of our nature, that argument was not necessary: and surely that man who has a keen intuitive moral sense of what is right is far superior to one who arrives at it by logic. Thank God, it is to this intuitive sense that we are largely indebted for that declaration which the women of England are so righteously making against the hideous law of incest! The words however which follow are not applicable to S. Basil. 'The whole history of the world bearing witness that men's notions and preconceptions are often taken up hastily and presumptuously, and even, when better grounded, are apt to become distorted and wither away, and perpetually need Reason to purge, to correct, and to reanimate them.'

Archdeacon Hare is not intentionally an autobiographer.

In this same note, p. 82, Archdeacon Hare favours us with his notion of Apostolic tradition in the fourth century. 'It is forgotten,' he says, 'how vague and uncertain the view of tradition must be;' and then he talks of prejudices, and floating mists, and such like Ossianic nebulosities. But what unscholar-like trifling is this! Does not the Archdeacon recollect, that in this very century the first general council, that of Nice, was held? Does not the Church of England, and every Church throughout the world, (except perhaps one of Archdeacon Hare's Churches, i.e. A or B's conscience,) receive the decrees of that council as attestations to Apostolic doctrine? It is plain he has no proper estimate of the firm and earnest adhesion to the great principles of religion and morality, kept alive in the yet undivided Church, through the care of successive Bishops both in the East and West, and their jealous watchfulness against any innovation of that which was surely believed among them, καθὼς παρέδωκαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου. Whatever a diet of Lutheran rationalists might now say, it is impossible to believe that on so sacred a subject as marriage, there was not a strict and accurate retention of a rule universally received, and intuitively, '*proleptically*,' acknowledged.

What respect those of the rising generation who have guides like Mr. Hare can be expected to have for the judgments of the Church, may be surmised from the manner in which he treats this Epistle of S. Basil. From his tone respecting it, one might suppose it was nothing more as to authority than a letter from 'our correspondent' in the Times, or from Dr. Arnold; whereas it was a document, which all churches and communi-

ties in the East adopted as their own, made it the substance of their Canons, and preserved unaltered to this day. S. Basil's doctrine was acknowledged to be the true one by half of the Christian world. Not that he had first discovered it. But the Canons embodying it were adopted in that ready spirit of recognition usually displayed when men receive the distinct and energetic expression of a truth which they have always in substance held. And we maintain it would have been morally impossible for these Basilian Canons to have stood so firmly for fifteen hundred years, had they not been based upon that ground of Scriptural and Apostolical truth, to which in this particular doctrine all other Churches have borne as consistent and sure a testimony.

It would be but going over the same ground again to speak of Fathers and Councils, to prove the ecclesiastical illegality of the marriage of a wife's sister. Suffice it to say, not one document or authority, till the disastrous ages of dispensations, when the grace of God was turned into lasciviousness, defends it: and even then the Papal dispensation did not regard it as sanctioned by Divine law, but merely as permitted rarely, and *pro re natâ*, by an authority which usurped the power of Christ. Nor is this all: the testimony is far from negative. What Mr. Carrington so justly says with respect to the Councils of the undivided Church in the fourth century, may be applied with truth to the Doctrine of the Church, even in its interruption of general councils in all ages since. 'Since Elvira is in Spain, and Neocæsarea in Pontus, these marriages were forbidden at that time east and west, from one end of the Christian world to the other.' Papal dispensations prove nothing, or too much. Protestant dispensations or relaxations prove only an utter contempt of God's law. A noble contrast indeed does Mr. Hare bring forward, viz.: Luther *versus* Jewell and Hammond, (pp. 69, 70.) A truly respectable authority in this matter is the apologist for polygamy in that notorious instance of the Landgrave of Hesse, where that impetuous man so miserably defended the sin of one in high place and authority. The seven short lines of Bishop Jewell quoted by Mr. Hare, (p. 69,) are a sufficient foil to the crude sentiments of Luther, who seems utterly to confound those two different things, the municipal or ceremonial Law of the Jews, and the universal Law of God, ordained to put an everlasting stigma on Egyptian and Canaanitish sins. The Protestant dispensations had their origin partly from a confused notion of Christian liberty, partly from a notion as confused of the power of Christian princes and states, who, in matters beyond human legislation, assumed the abrogated power of the Pope. They do not pretend to respect the

testimony of the Church in the least. And Protestant dispensations, like the Popish, would prove too much; they would sanction avowed incest. If rationalism in religion, and liberality in politics proceed as they have begun, if God's Law be forsaken as the standard of morals and social purity, if the testimony of the Church be set aside, and, at the same time, if luxury and selfishness go on maintaining their present sway, Europe may become a Canaan; the moral sense, the *horror naturalis*, on which so much dependence is now unjustifiably placed, may become utterly deadened, so that it may be ridiculous to appeal, in matters of social decency, to the consent of men composing even European society.

As to the Church of England in particular, of course no respect for her solemn decrees in this matter can be expected from one who has none for those of the Church Universal. The Archdeacon is thankful that the rulers of our Church did not commit the sin of attaching the prohibited degrees to the Prayer Book: though he considers this sin was perpetrated by those who framed the last Act of Uniformity; and by implication of course he would reckon our Canon, which binds the clergy, as 'foolish, and wicked, and sinful.' Most sinful must it be in a Church to require consent from her clergy, on a matter where she appeals to the clear testimony of Scripture and the Church, on a fundamental article of morals, on a question which involves the purity and peace of her sons and daughters, with which the most awful denunciations of the ancient law are connected, and which has relation to that sacred ordinance which represents mystically the union betwixt Christ and his Church. Most sinful is it to be very cautious lest the commands of God may possibly be violated, and this ordinance contaminated by permission of incest: lest the condition of those persons who engage in it be rendered worse than that of mere fornication, by the impious mockery of seeking the Church's blessing over those who are joined together otherwise than God's word doth allow. That God's word does allow it, it is impossible that Archdeacon Hare can believe, if he but stops to consider all the evidence. And, to take the very lowest view of the question, to engage in a doubtful action, where at least very strong probabilities are on the side of its being sinful, is impious, and contrary to that law of Scripture which censures as damnable the commission of a doubtful act. Archdeacon Hare would leave this an open question. How many other questions would he leave open? His mode of arguing would soon leave us without one positive doctrine. How wide would he make the gate and the way that leadeth unto life? He thinks it a hateful bondage, that on these matters the clergy have not per-

fect liberty. His complaint, in fact, amounts to this:—it is very hard that we may not disbelieve what the Church teaches; the converse of which of course is, it is hard that we may not teach what the Church disbelieves. He taunts Sir Robert Inglis with descending to *vulgar slang* (slang from Sir Robert Inglis!) because he maintains that those who are the teachers in the Church should hold and believe its doctrine; and represents most inconsistently that as Sir Robert's 'interpretation of the Levitical law,' which is taught by a Canon of the Church of England. He indirectly accuses of tyranny and persecution one, who would be as incapable of either as of an unkind look, or word, or thought. Mr. Hare's ideas as to the English Protestantism of which he supposes Sir Robert to be the champion, are certainly extraordinary. The whole public course of that eminent man's life has been the support of all that is honourable and high principled, whether in religion, politics, or morals; and in the maintenance of all those wholesome restrictions which are essential towards the preservation of true Christian liberty, and the curbing of that intellectual and practical licentiousness which threatens to dissolve society.

We know not indeed where authority for any doctrine can be found, according to Mr. Hare's ideas. 'Every minister of the Church,' he says, (p. 88,) 'ought to be persuaded, that the legitimate government, *however* constituted, has a right to decree ordinances.' Whether he means the ecclesiastical and civil combined, or either separately, or whether he means the civil sanction of the law of the land, or the ordinances of the Church, we cannot well understand. However this may be, the clergyman is to obey these ordinances, 'just as a judge is bound to execute the law of the land.' He does not see the wide difference between the *obedience* a judge is bound to give to laws of which he may disapprove, and the hearty assent and consent which a clergyman *ex animo* gives to the decrees of the Church of which he is a minister, which he professes to believe, and which are binding not only on his conduct but his conscience. But whatever he may mean here, his notions as to the Church are very contradictory. 'Christianity' (p. 66) enunciates principles, &c. 'and leaves it to the *wisdom of the Church*, that is, of *every Christian community*, or to the *conscience of individuals*, to unfold the consequences according to the exigencies of each particular case.' So the Church = every Christian community = the conscience of individuals; therefore the Church = the conscience of individuals. A pretty equation! Every man his own Church! But of course, as each Christian community may legislate for itself, there may be difference of faith and practice without end, and with perfect

propriety; and the unity of the Church may consist in agreeing to differ! The *horror naturalis* may differ in A, B, and C, and the several exigencies of A, B, C, may regulate the law. Thus, as appears in the evidence, one may find it convenient, another agreeable, another reputable, to marry either aunt or niece, or sister-in-law, just as his conscience dictates, or as may be settled by the wisdom of any Christian community, be it a Ruri-decanal chapter, a symposium of liberal divines, or whatever conjunction of ecclesiastical Solons Archdeacon Hare may comprehend under his favourite WE. But again: 'when positive ordinances find a response in the conscience of the nation, it is comparatively easy to enforce them; but, when this response is wanting, they cannot maintain themselves long; they will be undermined by the encroachments of the sceptical reason and the self-relying will.' We fear that by the conscience of the nation he means the *horror naturalis*, that which seems good in their own eyes; a *liberal* interpretation of morals and religion, irrespective of the Church: and if so, we freely grant he is right; but we cannot see that Dr. Pusey is wrong: for if the denial of the binding force of the Levitical degrees would involve the relaxation of all degrees, we cannot see what could hinder the 'conscience' of the state from ordaining this relaxation, in which, according to his own principles, every individual would be bound to acquiesce.

We cannot pursue his ideas of Church and State, or of legislation further. There appears however, to be an utter confusion between civil sanctions and religious obligations, between the duty we owe to God and to the mere ordinance of man, between temporal and spiritual laws, between the functions of a synod and a parliament, which Mr. Hare, however, seems to consider as identical. As for the Church being a witness and keeper of Holy Writ, this never seems present to his recollection; he therefore totally misapprehends the grounds upon which the doctrine of the Church (in which we include all fundamental laws of morals) has always been based, and the principles upon which the Church has ever felt herself at liberty to legislate at all.

Happily, however, the course pursued by the Church of England in this great matter has been clear. She has pronounced all marriage within certain degrees to be contrary to the Law of God, taking the positive precepts of the old Laws of Christ, and of the Apostles, and the inevitable deductions from them as her guide; and fortifying her decision, or rather her attestation, by the concurrent attestation of the Universal Church, from the most ancient times. At the same time, while so strict in enforcing the Law of God, she has not presumed to

extend her legislation beyond the scriptural degrees; in both respects agreeing with the primitive Church, and thus standing forth as the only representative in modern Christendom of the ancient practice both in strictness and in forbearance. It must be a matter of deep satisfaction to Archdeacon Hare, that he has done his part towards throwing a doubt upon scriptural authority, vilifying Catholic consent, execrating the judgment of our Church, and debasing her from that high and Catholic ground which upon this doctrine she has taken. The Archdeacon's course is not a new one: he is merely aiding our modern philosophical divines; and a strange lesson they are teaching. To set at nought, as far as man dare, all intellectual or moral restraint; to regard the voice of the Church Universal as nothing when compared with individual opinion; to speak with contempt of venerable Fathers, and the distinguished luminaries of later times, his superiors in every way, both as to learning, piety, and power of mind; and at the same time to idolize his own individual opinion and judgment; and all this, for the purpose of propping up a most unrighteous cause, calamitous in its present and future consequences, and utterly subversive of the peace of Christian society,—for the purpose of aiding the selfish desires of a few interested men, who have cloked their design under the false plea of relieving the poor;—such is the enterprise of Archdeacon Hare, such his True Remedy for the evils of the age! and such is but one instance of the spirit which is largely at work, to bring sorrow and further distraction into this Church and nation!

Since writing the above, Mr. Forster's Sermon, which is noticed in the heading of our article, has appeared. It is a great satisfaction to find that his energetic vindication of Christian morality is in entire accordance with our sentiments. Mr. Forster begins with laying down 'two first principles of all scriptural interpretation; the one, that Scripture must be interpreted by Scripture; the other, that Scripture cannot contradict itself.' He applies these two 'common-places,' as he calls them, to the subject in question: and in so doing, asserts at length the orthodox doctrine, at which Archdeacon Hare cavilled, that our Lord came to establish the Law and the Prophets, and consequently the Law of marriage; and then proceeds to show that the Council of Jerusalem did confirm the ancient law of marriage.

Speaking of *πορνεία*, as mentioned at that Council, he says, 'To the law of incest it very specially applies, as is proved by

‘ its being the term employed by S. Paul, in speaking of the
 ‘ man who had taken his father’s wife. Now, by the introduction
 ‘ of this one word, necessarily inclusive of the whole table of
 ‘ prohibited degrees, as it stands here as the sole represent-
 ‘ ative of them all, the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem most
 ‘ clearly affirms, and adopts the 18th chapter of Leviticus, with
 ‘ its whole table of prohibitions, as the declaration of the moral
 ‘ law of God, binding on all Christian people.’

Mr. Forster asserts the doctrine of the Universal Church, and
 of our own : and energetically asserts the feeling (so shamefully
 misrepresented) of England, Scotland, and Ireland, on this
 subject. In addition to this, there is one fact, peculiarly
 valuable as coming from such authority; that ‘ the Mahometan
 ‘ table of prohibited degrees, recited in the 4th chapter of the
 ‘ Koran, entitled “ Women,” is either literally or virtually
 ‘ identical with the 18th chapter of Leviticus, and that it closes
 ‘ with a prohibition, in the most solemn terms, of the very
 ‘ marriage now in question. “ It is forbidden—or it is wicked-
 ‘ ness—for a man to unite himself with two sisters.” ’ And he
 justly adds, ‘ What Christian state can venture to let down the
 ‘ pure morality of the Gospel below even the lax and licentious
 ‘ morality of Mahomet and the Koran?’

His notes are very valuable; as vindicating S. Basil, putting
 the importance of Bishop Taylor’s casuistry in its true light,
 giving the genuine interpretation to the 18th chapter of Levi-
 ticus, and exposing the absurd and arrogant assumptions and
 statements of Archdeacon Hare. Mr. Forster throughout points
 to the only safe and true course; that is, adhesion to the Law
 and the Testimony, to Christ, to His Apostles, and to His Church,
 in defiance of that philosophy and vain deceit, which is now
 spoiling and poisoning the minds of many, so as utterly to
 pervert their notions of true liberty, and pure Christianity.

- ART. VI.—1. *The Royal Supremacy viewed in reference to the two Spiritual Powers of Order and Jurisdiction.* By T. W. ALLIES, M.A. Rector of Launton. London: Pickering. 1850.
2. *Two Letters on the present Position of the High Church Party in the Church of England.* By the Rev. WILLIAM MASKELL, Vicar of S. Mary Church. Second Edition. London: Pickering. 1850.

THESE pamphlets suggest a threefold consideration. 1. As to the facts they contain. 2. As to the tone of the writers. 3. As to the deductions insinuated as a consequence of the facts. It is obvious that the first may be true, and yet the two last highly objectionable. Assuming that the first are so, one might still venture the philosophic caution: "Ἔστι δ', ἐν τούτῳ παραλογίσασθαι. Εἰ γὰρ δικάως ἐπαθὲν τι, δικάως πέπονθεν, ἀλλ' ἴσως οὐχ ὑπὸ σοῦ." (Arist. Rhet. ii. 23. 3.)

But it is just possible there may be a defect in the facts themselves, at least in the colouring which has been given them: and still more in the deductions which have been made from them.

We will begin with the Supremacy question.—And here the first reflection that arrests one is, that it should have been viewed so absolutely and irrespectively, as if it had been the one thing excogitated, cherished, and maintained by the English Church, and not the result of a powerful recoil from the opposite extreme. We will be bold to say that the facts were far otherwise, and that the true clue to the Supremacy lies in the fearful and much to be lamented, because not altogether unnecessary, oath. 'I, A. B. do swear that I do from my heart 'abhor, detest, and abjure that damnable doctrine and position, 'that Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any 'authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by 'their subjects, or any other whatsoever.' It is unquestionable that the Papal power had overborne the Regale to a most incredible, though not the less unjustifiable, extent: and it is only wonderful that the recoil, when it did come, should have been comparatively so mild, that human nature so outraged, should have been content with so qualified a retaliation.

The power of the Pope had been one of progressive, but stupendous increase; it had gradually supplanted every constituted authority to be met with in the Christian world. It certainly may have heard appeals previously, but it was not

before the Sardican Council, A. D. 345, that it had acquired a recognised right to do so. Transmarine appeals are expressly forbidden in the African Code authorized A. D. 418—19: and even about the middle of the 9th century, says Döllinger, (a Roman Catholic historian,) 'no bishop could appeal to Rome against the will of his metropolitan.'¹ It would have been almost heresy, some centuries later, to have asserted that it was above a general Council; nor was it before Gregory VII. really, that it formally claimed the power of deposing kings. Earlier Popes, it was afterwards argued, did not depose, simply because they could not:² as if it had not been made a chief argument that later Popes could, because they did.³ It is notorious that the deposing theory followed, and did not precede the practice; else why should Bellarmine have been content to quote Augustinus Triumphus, Alvarius Pelagius, Hugo de S. Victor, Alexander Alensis, and others of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, as his earliest authorities? Precedents they were that suggested principles, and that played the part of a versatile interpreter to the inspired Word. Will it be believed that the words, 'Thou art Peter,' &c., and the like, have been made to support the following assumptions?

'The first opinion is, that the Supreme Pontiff has *jure divino* the most absolute power over the whole world, as well in Ecclesiastical as in temporal matters. Hostiensis indeed goes still further, for he teaches that, through the coming of Christ, all dominion of infidel princes has been transferred to the Church, and resides in the Supreme Pontiff, as Vicar of the supreme and true King, Christ: and that consequently the Pontiff can in his own right bestow kingdoms of the unfaithful upon the faithful, whom he will.'⁴

It is fair to add that the above is considered by Bellarmine a somewhat extreme view: but the opinion which the Cardinal himself holds, and in which, he says, all Catholics concur, is practically the same. 'It does not,' says Barrow, 'in effect and practical consideration, any wise differ from the former: but is only in words devised to shun envy, and veil the impudence of the other assertion.'⁵ And indeed so Bellarmine thinks,—at all events he has laboured to show that the principal supporters of the foregoing opinion agreed with him in the main; that is, they held that the power of the Pope as regards temporal matters was indirect,⁶ and mediate; not, however, that it was the less supreme. Reconcilable or not, therefore, the

¹ Period iii. c. iv. § 5, p. 180, Eng. Tr.

² Bellarm. De Rom. Pont. vol. vii. p. 904 c.

³ Ibid. c. viii. 'Idem probatur exemplis.'

⁴ Bell. De Rom. Pont. vol. i.

⁵ On the Pope's Supremacy, Introd. § 3.

⁶ Bell. ibid. c. v.

principles, the practical conclusions of the two schools were wholly the same. Emperors and kings derived their authority from the Pope, which he might recal when there appeared occasion, of which he was the sole arbiter.

A few examples will show that the practice did not fall short of the theory. Hildebrand deposed Henry IV. in the following terms, after an impassioned apostrophe to the Apostle S. Peter:—

‘ Relying on this, for the honour and defence of thy Church, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by *thy* power and authority, I forbid to King Henry, son of Henry the Emperor, who through an unexampled pride has rebelled against thy holy Church, the government of the whole realm of Germany and Italy. I absolve all Christians from the oaths which they have taken, or may take to him; and I decree that no one shall obey him as king: for it is fitting that he who has endeavoured to diminish the honour of thy Church, should himself lose that honour which he seems to have.’¹

Paschal II. not only reiterated a like sentence against the same monarch, but armed his own son against him, by declaring him freed from the oath which he had taken to his father, on condition that he would use his kingly power in supporting the Church; ‘ Germany beheld therefore,’ says a recent biographer, ‘ the dreadful scene of warfare between a parent and his child.’² These fruits certainly speak volumes for the theory: if indeed, as our Lord says, ‘ a tree may be known by its fruits.’ To proceed. Innocent IV. not only deposed Frederick II., and absolved his subjects from the oaths of *allegiance* they had taken to him, but by his apostolical authority firmly prohibited that any man should thenceforth obey or regard him as king or emperor; concluding, that whoever should afterwards yield advice, aid, or favour to him as emperor or king, should immediately lie under the ban of excommunication.³

It is too true that these instances might be multiplied into a catalogue that would swell pages: and many there are, more aggravated, if possible, than those which have been mentioned. We shall have occasion to revert to a few more in the sequel.

Now we put the question to rational beings, whether it was not perfectly certain that human nature would eventually recoil from a doctrine so monstrous: and we put it to Christians, whether it was to be expected that Divine Providence should permit the pure truths of His Gospel to be so egregiously perverted without a special judgment; and we put it to those, who consider it so disgraceful, that our communion should have acquiesced to the extent she has, in the claims of the temporal power over her spiritual regimen, whether it was not infinitely

¹ Bowden's Life of Gregory VII. vol. ii. p. 109.

² Bowden, *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 349.

³ Barrow, as before.

more disgraceful for the Church generally, to have acquiesced so long in the still more arrogant claims of the spiritual power over the temporal? We say boldly, that it was a far more unpardonable aggression on the part of the spiritual power: because *that*, of all others, should have inculcated meekness and humility, as well in precept as in practice; and we very much fear that were actual deeds compared, it would be found, that the temporal power had been at least as moderate in its practical conduct as the spiritual.

It has been truly said, 'Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall,' (Prov. xvi. 18.) To those therefore who are so dissatisfied with the retributive statute, 24 Henry VIII. cap. 12, (we say it with pain and sorrow,) we think it perfectly clear whom we have to thank for it. Not indeed that we have the least sympathy with the despot who framed it: still it is quite possible he may have been a most unworthy instrument in a just cause. When a judgment was to be inflicted upon the Jews for a long continued neglect of the fourth commandment, the prophet Jeremiah actually pronounced it to be their duty to go into captivity, and obey a heathen king.¹ This was the appointed means for 'the land to enjoy her sabbaths:' and seventy years we know was the period of the Captivity. If therefore we are disposed to be impatient because we have so long acquiesced in a state not widely dissimilar, let us ask ourselves seriously, not only whether there was a cause, but whether the cause has ceased?

Nothing daunted by 24 Henry VIII. cap. 12, and other acts, Paul III. promulgated, A.D. 1535, a threat of excommunication against Henry, which he afterwards carried into effect. In the bull which contains it, says Collier, 'foreign kings and princes are exhorted in the Lord, as Sanders transcribes it, to treat Henry and his abettors as rebels to the Church, and undertake a holy war against them till they have brought them to recollection and submission to the Apostolic See: and to disentangle their consciences and encourage them the better, all their alliances, treaties, and engagements of what kind soever with the king of England, are declared null and void.'² It is indeed melancholy to be obliged to transcribe these monstrous documents, but we must add two more, A.D. 1585. Sixtus V. published a like sentence against Henry king of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé, in which, after the most excessive language that can be imagined on the subject of the Papal Supremacy, he proceeds to pass judgment in the following terms: 'We

¹ Jer. xxvii. 12; xxix. 4-7; may read a lesson.

² Collier, Eccl. Hist. vol. iv. p. 277, Ed. Straker.

‘deprive them and their posterity *for ever* of their dominions and kingdoms, . . . and . . . by the authority of these presents, we do absolve and set free all persons as well jointly as severally from any such oath, and from all duty whatsoever in regard of dominion, fealty, and obedience; and do charge and forbid all and every of them, that they do not dare to obey them or any of their admonitions, laws, and commands.’¹ The last we shall mention is the bull of Pius V. against our own Elizabeth. ‘He that reigneth on high,’ he begins, ‘to whom is given all power in heaven and in earth, hath committed the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, out of which there is no salvation, to *one alone* on earth, namely, to Peter prince of the Apostles, and to the Roman Pontiff successor of Peter, to be governed with a plenitude of power; this one he hath constituted *prince over all nations, and all kingdoms*, that he might pluck up, destroy, dissipate, overturn, plant, and build.’ . . . And in the same bull he declares that ‘he thereby deprives the Queen of her *pretended right* to the kingdom: and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever; and absolves all the nobles, subjects, and people of the kingdom, and whoever else have sworn to her, from their oath, and all duty whatsoever in regard of dominion, fidelity, and obedience.’ Pope Clement VIII. A. D. 1600, actually sent a plenary indulgence to the Irish, to encourage them to an insurrection against Elizabeth.²

Let us now put the question to those who are disposed to answer it, whether this doctrine has ever been repudiated or abandoned by the Western Church? And if it has not, let us cease to wonder that Providence should have made it so hard a matter for us to disengage ourselves from the Regale. What guarantee is there that the same extravagant assumptions would not be resumed by the Church, should opportunity offer, especially when it has been alleged as a palliative for the earlier Popes, that they did not depose, simply because they could not. On the other hand, let it be said that there always were differences of opinion in the Western Church on the subject of the deposing theory; let it be said, as is indeed the case, that Du Pin and the Gallican Doctors dissent from it in the strongest terms: and that Bellarmine and the Ultra-montane Doctors uphold it as a thing almost *de fide*—we are laying the Western Church open to the imputation which Mr. Maskell feels so keenly, namely, the want of positive dogmatic teaching on so grave a point. We are entitled, therefore, to claim his

¹ For this and the following one, see Barrow, *Introduct.* § 3.

² Collier, *Records*, No. xevii.

admiration at all events for the English Church, that she has pronounced it in the most unequivocal manner a damnable doctrine and position. Would God that the rest of the Western Church would authoritatively put out the same plain language!

We come now to the question of the actual power claimed over the English Church by the Sovereign. Mr. Maskell would insinuate that all power was claimed; at all events he has not clearly distinguished between what was and what was not claimed. Mr. Allies is willing to grant that it was only that of external jurisdiction; under which, however, he would include that of making laws.

'This is called,' he says, 'the power of *exterior jurisdiction*. 'To this belongs likewise the directive power of enacting laws, 'obligatory on the conscience which exists in the Church; and 'to this likewise the coercive power,' (p. 20.) He had already said, (p. 18,) 'Now, I conceive that the Royal Supremacy did 'not assume to itself anything that belongs *strictly* to the power 'of Order'—and with regard to jurisdiction itself he has made a further distinction, p. 58. 'We have seen how it seized upon and 'appropriated the full Papal Supremacy as to jurisdiction *in foro interno*: did it lay claim also to jurisdiction *in foro externo*? my 'belief is, that it troubled itself very little about the matter, and 'considering it as depending on the power of Order, which it is, 'and on that alone, which it is not, was willing enough, that so 'long as the whole outward jurisdiction was allowed to flow 'from itself, the inward might accompany those whom it selected 'for its agents.'

Mr. Allies therefore has expressed himself with sufficient explicitness, and it would seem that he considered the Royal Supremacy a trifle more circumscribed than Mr. Maskell appears to have done.

Neither, however, seems to state the real truth. For let it be observed, first, that the question of appeals is clearly one of jurisdiction, as distinct from legislation; jurisdiction is the power said to be restored to the Crown throughout the statutes quoted by Mr. Maskell in his first letter, and wherever authority, power, or the like follow it, they mean nothing more than 'authority of jurisdiction,' as it is said, 1 Edw. VI. cap. 2; and it was in the same spirit that the term 'Governor' was deemed more accurate than the term 'Head.' There is plainly a difference between making laws and executing them, between legislating and adjudicating: and so totally distinct, and so differently vested are the legislative and executive powers in our English constitution, that it is surprising Mr. Allies should

¹ Maskell, p. 20.

have been so carried away by the works of the Canonists, as to forget he was writing about English laws and English usages in Church and State. That there is a very practical difference between the two things in our English constitution is clear from De Lolme: 'The basis of the English constitution,' he says—he is here speaking of the temporal power, of course—'the capital principle on which all others depend, is, that the legislative powers belong to parliament alone: that is to say, the power of establishing laws, and of abrogating, changing, or explaining them.'¹ This will explain a limitation which occurs in the statute where power is given to the king to correct heresies, and here a further check is imposed upon the temporal legislative body by the spiritual. Whatever Mr. Maskell may say, we have Parliament expressly binding itself to the judgment of the first four general councils, and other councils, so far as they have decided according to the express and plain words of the canonical Scriptures; and further acknowledging, that where these have not defined, it can determine nothing to be heresy, without the assent of the clergy duly convened. Of course we do not deny that the clergy have pledged themselves not to assemble, enact, promulge, or execute canons without the royal assent first had²—much in the same way that Stephen IV. once made a synodal decree, '*ne absque Imperiali notitia Pontificis fieret consecratio*':³ but who, we ask, would seriously maintain such a pledge to be eternally binding upon posterity, or that the clergy of the present, or a future age, may not, when they deem expedient, recall their submission by a new declaration according to the generally received principle, '*vis eadem est construere et destruere*?' Whether they have had reason or not already to do so, may perhaps be made a question, but certainly it cannot be said that their hands have been absolutely tied since the submission was made; or that nothing has been done in the interim. Granting, therefore, that the whole executive power in the Church has been transferred to the king, he is nevertheless obliged to pledge his allegiance before God solemnly to the Church before he can become king. He is bound, moreover, in the exercise of the executive, to respect the laws and creeds of the Church. He cannot decide contrary to her received doctrine and discipline. Thus much was actually acknowledged by the late Judicial Committee. The dispute

¹ Eng. Const. b. i. c. iv. Here Parliament = King, Lords, and Commons. The prerogatives of the executive power, which is vested in the King solely, are considered c. v.

² 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19.

³ Gratian, Dist. xxxii. Comp. Dollinger, p. iii. c. iii. § 2, who puts forward a still stronger view of the case.

simply turns upon the *de facto* question, whether they have or have not impugned her doctrine. And this consideration, together with the distinction between the legislative and executive before mentioned, would appear not to have been sufficiently noticed. The duty of the clergy clearly now is to insist upon the restoration of their legislative functions, which are still acknowledged, as they have ever been, though they have been for a considerable time unconstitutionally suspended. Were they resuscitated, only judging from what they effected formerly, we might expect a vast practical change in our position—and the same might be said of our episcopal elections, were the *congé d'élire*, which is a privilege of the executive, limited, as it ought to be, by the archiepiscopal confirmation—a right which it only recently divided the judges representing the Sovereign to allow or reject. It is quite possible we may be more successful another time: and these privileges once re-asserted and regained, we should soon have practical experience that the Royal Supremacy had been deprived of its sting.

We now pass to the more esoteric, and therefore more recondite part of the subject, opened by Mr. Allies, as regards external spiritual jurisdiction viewed through the medium of the canon law. And here the first thing which we would observe, is, that the theory which he puts forward was invented long after the facts, and rests upon the usual assumption of the canon law, namely, the Papal Supremacy. Secondly, that even so, it is not one which will bear a rigid analysis. For, assuming that jurisdiction universally descends 'from superiors to inferiors,' as Mr. Allies says,¹ who is it that confers jurisdiction upon the Pope? Plainly those who elect or consecrate him, though it must be conceded that they confer a power which they do not themselves possess to the full extent. On the primitive theory that the constitution of the Church is aristocratical and not monarchical, the provincial bishops in the same way conferred a jurisdiction, that individually did not belong to them, in the election and consecration of a metropolitan.

A third objection to the theory is, that it will not cover all facts; so that although it be admitted it cannot be said to be universally true: that is, it must be considered to have exceptions. If, therefore, extreme cases do not set aside the rule, the rule on the other hand must not be made to over-ride extreme cases. Now, what jurisdiction could the synod of Alexandria have conferred upon Eusebius and Lucifer, Asterius and Hilary, (A.D. 362,) to make visitations throughout the East and West, and restore orthodoxy in the different countries

¹ P. 55.

through which they passed? Lucifer indeed, it is plain, ordained Paulinus bishop of Antioch without waiting for the authority of the synod, for Paulinus was there represented by his legates.¹ Yet Lucifer was never reproached for the performance of an uncanonical act,² though Eusebius, finding that it had been done without the full consent of the diocese, did doubt his wisdom. On the other hand, notwithstanding the schism that ensued, Paulinus was ever considered the orthodox bishop.

In the same way Germanus and Lupus were deputed by a Gallican synod to purify the British Churches, themselves the applicants, from Pelagianism, (A.D. 429.) It should not of course be omitted that Baronius and others of the same school consider Eusebius and Lucifer, Germanus and Lupus, to have been Papal legates: but never was there a more groundless assertion. All history, it may be said, expressly attests the contrary, and in the former case facts are utterly irreconcilable with the supposition, as Valesius shows.³ Why, the Pontiff of the day, Liberius, had lapsed himself only four years before; and from age and infirmity, and the peculiar circumstances of his position, was quite incapable of interfering. In the latter case the express testimonies of Constantius, Bede, Paulus Diaconus, Freculphus, Erricus, and Ado, are met by a single passage of the Chronicle commonly attributed to Prosper, which Pitheus,⁴ however, in his preface to the genuine version, has pronounced to be the work of a different hand. Not a word on the subject occurs in the genuine Chronicle—and is it likely that Bede, ascribing as he did, in a former chapter,⁵ the appointment of the first Scottish bishop to Celestine, would have attributed the mission of SS. Germanus and Lupus to a different source, had they been sent by him? And it is observable that the account which he has given of the second coming of S. Germanus, when Severus accompanied him, fully bears out the account given of the first. But as to what the bishops did when they came—‘the anonymous author of the Chronicle in Leland tells us,’ says Collier, ‘that SS. Germanus and Lupus, having suppressed ‘the Pelagian heresy, consecrated bishops in several parts of ‘England, and among the rest, they erected a cathedral at ‘Llandaff, and made Dubricius archbishop of late.’⁶

So much therefore for the theory. Now let us look at the case which it has been alleged to invalidate, viz.: the consecration of Archbishop Parker.⁷ How unfair here once more to

¹ Soc. Eccl. Hist. iii. 5; and Vales. ad l.

² Ad Soc. Eccl. Hist. iii. 5.

³ Eccl. Hist. i. 13.

⁴ Baron. ad A. D. 362, n. 15.

⁵ Operum, p. 331.

⁶ Eccl. Hist. i. p. 111.

⁷ Allies, p. 43, *et seq.*

regard his case absolutely, and not with reference to the circumstances which led to it. It is well known who consecrated Archbishop Parker, and it is objected that, having no actual jurisdiction themselves, it is quite impossible they could have conferred what they had not. We ask, how they came to be deprived of jurisdiction? and the answer must be, by a most unconstitutional exercise of the Regale, by one who ought to have been the last to have arrogated it—the so-called Catholic Queen Mary. When she came to the crown, Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgskin *had* jurisdiction, and she, and no other power,¹ deprived them and others. It is true, that in some cases actual force was not required. Five bishops, like S. Athanasius, had retired before the storm burst; no less than seven were dispossessed by her six commissioners; and several were most unrighteously murdered. We say nothing about the Archbishop, as treason was the crime upon which he was first apprehended. Consequently those who supplanted them were bare intruders, and as injustice cannot prejudice just rights, Barlow, Hodgskin, Coverdale, and Scory, were *de jure* possessors of their former sees at the time when they consecrated Parker. Whatever confusion or irregularity there may have been in the proceeding, when strained to the letter of the law, the blame rests with Mary; and those who object to the jurisdiction of the Elizabethan Bishops, should be prepared to vindicate the still more questionable jurisdiction, assumed by the Marian intrusionists: those, we mean, who before Cardinal Pole arrived, and consequently before Cranmer was, even according to their principles, formally deposed, were substituted for the ejected bishops by her commissioners.²

As to the subordinate case of the power of the keys in the matter of private confession and absolution, as it is practised amongst ourselves at the present day, it is easy to see that a communion in which private confession is voluntary, would be most unreasonably judged by the rules of a communion in which it is compulsory. Moreover, there are distinct grounds for supposing that our Church has formally conceded³ greater liberty to the individual.

Now what was it but the judgment of particular Churches in the first instance, though eventually of the whole Church, that substituted private confession for the public, and made that all-sufficient and obligatory, which before, though it may *perhaps* have been obligatory, was certainly not all-sufficient. We will be bold to say, that auricular confession might be abolished

¹ Collier, vol. vi. p. 67.

² Collier, vol. vi. p. 67.

³ *E. g.* vide Exhortation to the Holy Communion.

altogether for a like cause, and by the same authority that abolished altogether public confession; much more therefore the regulations concerning it changed and remodelled.

And now for a few words on the grievance of which Mr. Maskell complains so bitterly, namely, the want of positive dogmatic teaching in our Church.¹ This defect, coupled with our acquiescence for nearly three centuries in the Royal Supremacy, Mr. Maskell thinks conclusive against our Catholicity, and consequently against the depths and solidity of our late revival, except so far as it leads elsewhere. Alas! had he mentioned many still more grievous defects untold, we fear it would not have been difficult to have paralleled them in the annals of the Church, or to have proved from the past, that their existence for so long a time (granting the full extent to which he says they have prevailed) had neither necessarily destroyed our Catholicity, nor supplied a valid argument against our entire resuscitation. We invite his attention to the period preceding the revival of the eleventh century, which Mr. Maskell will scarce deny to have been a true Church revival; and to avoid controversy about the facts themselves, our extracts shall be made solely from one who certainly would not be likely to exaggerate them. To begin with a few samples of the supreme Pontiffs: 'The Roman See,' says Döllinger, 'after the short pontificates of Anastasius III. (911—13) and of Lando, appears, to have been in a state of disgraceful dependence on certain Roman women, who, influential as they were capricious, placed therein their favourites or sons; a state in which the Papal See might have been compared to a captive in chains, to whom being deprived, we are not to impute the disgrace which he endures.'² All know who these abandoned women were, or in what relationship Theodora stood to John X., and Marozia to Sergius III. and John XI. Would indeed that the melancholy facts could be fairly disputed, and that the Roman See had not been for years subjected to a sway not merely secular; not merely the sway of women, but of such women as have not often been allowed power in the more degraded kingdoms of this world! Let our condition be what it may, is it worse than this? and why is the argument which saves the Roman Church to stop short at the English?

In the next page we read, 'At Rome, after the death of Agapite in 956, Octavian, a youth of only eighteen years of age, the son of the Roman tyrant Alberich, seized for himself possession of the Papal throne. He named himself, — the first example of such a change, — John XII.' . . . He 'died,' (p. 139,) as we are told by the continuator of Luitprand, 'from

¹ Second Letter, p. 33, *et seq.*

² Eccl. Hist. Period iii. c. iii. § 2, p. 136.

the effects of a wound received in a nightly debauch.' P. 143 we read:—

'Benedict was succeeded in 1024 by his brother John XIX. whom, according to the expression of Romuald of Salerno, the same day beheld a layman and Pope; so great was then the *power of the counts of Tusculum*. . . . The counts of Tusculum, who had *already* seen upon the Papal throne their relatives Sergius III. John XI. and XII. Benedict VII., and lastly, the two brothers Benedict VIII. and John XIX., wished to make the *Roman See an inheritance in their family*, and count Alberich, the brother of the deceased John XIX. effected, by means of rich bribes of gold, the election of his son Theophylactus, who was named Benedict IX., and who dared to desecrate, for eleven years, the chair of Peter. This disgrace of the Roman, and consequently the entire Catholic Church, would have gone unpunished only in an age of the deepest corruption, in which, according to the assertion of the Abbot Guido of Pomposa, *almost all the Bishops were guilty of simony*.'

Here therefore was secular influence indeed, without the semblance of restraint! As regards the very next Pope, Gregory VI., it is said in the following page: 'Gregory related the manner of his own election, and confessed that he had been 'guilty of *simony*, but with the best intentions.' It is true that his resignation followed so candid a confession; nevertheless antecedently to his resignation, 'he was without doubt,' says 'Döllinger, 'the legitimate Pope,' (p. 144.) A sad pass indeed for the Apostolic See! Meanwhile particular Churches were even in a still more deplorable condition.

As regards France we read (p. 206): 'In the iron age, which 'extended from the end of the seventh to the middle of the 'eighth century, *literary and theological education* had been 'almost *destroyed*; but the *reign of Charlemagne effected here 'also a most happy change*.' We will not stop here to inquire how much the French Church was indebted for her transient amelioration to the secular arm; it is acknowledged that her relapse did not long survive its withdrawal.

'That glory of *ecclesiastical learning*, and that long series of *theological writers, who went from the school of Charlemagne*, and who formed themselves during the interval of tranquillity and peace which he gave to Europe, threw their splendour on the reign of Lewis and of his sons down to the year 870 . . . None survived the year 875, and as they left behind them no scholars, or scholars of only little learning; and as so many seats of education were destroyed, schools dispersed, libraries burnt; and as the bishops and priests had to contend with foreign and domestic misery, the ecclesiastical literature of the following years presents an aspect dreary and barren. Through the whole of the tenth century, the troubled state of the land, which had now become the defenceless booty of the Normans and of the nobles, who during the impotence of the kingly authority ruled with tyrannic sway, cast its influence also upon the Church. Simony, plunder of ecclesiastical property, and contempt of all ecclesiastical order, were occurrences of every day. The ignorance of the clergy obliged Frotier, bishop of Poitiers, and Fulrad, bishop of Paris, about the year 910,

to engage Abbo, a monk of S. Germain, to compose a series of Homilies on the principal truths of Christianity, which might serve their priests as themes for sermons. The synod of Trosley in 909 lamented, that numbers of men had grown old who had never learnt the Creed or the Lord's Prayer. During the civil dissensions of France, when the regal power of the last Carolingians yielded to the might of the greater vassals, and whilst the royal prerogatives were divided amongst many, the political position and the influence of the Church were weakened and disturbed. We no longer hear the episcopacy, assembled in numerous synods, raising its voice against the abuses of the times—for synods were now rarely convened; we see only individual prelates, powerful by their family connexions, or by their political stations, in particular the Archbishop of Rheims, who, judging and determining by the course of political events, usurped their Sees. But the See of Rheims became itself, about the year A.D. 925, the prey of a powerful noble, Herbert count of Vermandois, who forced into it his son Hugo, a youth of fifteen years of age. *The pope, the unworthy John X., consented to this act, but commissioned Abbo, bishop of Soissons, to undertake the spiritual administration of the diocese!*—Pp. 209, 210.

A little later it is said, 'Attempts were now made (p. 215) to secure benefices as inheritances in families; *Bishops gave manors of their dioceses to their children*; and with these scandals simony, which now began to spread universally, was 'in close connexion.' . . .

Again; in Germany, the Church was no less indebted to the temporal power for her reforms: 'Under the beneficent reign of Henry I.,' proceeds Döllinger, p. 220, ' (from 919 to 936,) the German Church by degrees arose from its degradation.' Again, p. 222: 'Under the two following Othos, the son and the grand-son of Otho the Great,' it is said, 'the great majority of the German Bishops who were *now* generally chosen, consisted of men who were worthy of their high vocation;' on the other hand it is admitted that simony, 'the source of almost all other ecclesiastical abuses, attained, *after the too early death of Henry III.,* a frightful height. . . (p. 227). An attempt of Anno to reform 'the monastery of Saalfeld by the introduction of foreign monks, created such an excitement in the neighbouring cloisters, that the monks abandoned them in crowds. The state of the secular clergy was no better. The unworthy bishops who had now intruded themselves into the different sees, carried their ideas further in the practice of that simony, by which they had obtained their churches. In the year 1070, the Pope, Alexander II., employed against them this bitter reproach,—that they gave ordination for money, and that they ordained those who could pay without any reference to their morality or capacity. (P. 229.) . . . Hence it will be seen,' is the mournful reflection of our historian, p. 230, 'that at the close of this period, the Church of Germany presented a knot, difficult to be unravelled, of licentiousness, of abuses, of corruption, and of the desecration of all that was sacred.'

We will now advance with him to the Italian Church ;—

' During the 8th century, ' [it is said, p. 235,] '*ecclesiastical studies were neglected in Italy, even more than in the west of France. . . . After the decline of the Carolingian dynasty, Italy offers to our view a picture of discord, of the dissolution of all social bonds, of dark immorality, and of misery, compared with which, even the contemporary state of France is tolerable. . . . The contempt of the laws of the Church was almost universal amongst ecclesiastics and laics, amongst bishops and priests. Laics no longer trembled at a sentence of excommunication, as they well knew that they who fulminated it, had, by the canons, incurred a like censure. Bishop Batherius, in whose diocese many of the Clergy were ignorant of the Apostles' Creed, had to contend for nearly every one of his episcopal rights with his priests, who were willing to except in his favour only the power of ordination. Hence we may conclude that his assertion, that it was impossible, in his time, to find a man worthy to be raised to the episcopate, can scarcely be thought exaggerated. . . . The Othos saved and exalted the Italian Episcopacy, by placing in the different sees Germans, or men devoted to them, but always worthy of their charge.*'—P. 237.

So we see that even appointments to bishoprics by the temporal power have not been always the most unmitigated evil imaginable.

It is unnecessary to proceed further with our extracts ; enough has been alleged to prove the abject state of the Church during the period of which we speak : yet, abject as it was, it was permitted, under Divine Providence, to experience a mighty revival in the 11th century. Had Mr. Maskell lived A.D. 1060, would the retrospect of the past have appeared more encouraging to him than it is now ? or, to advert to a further perplexity, would he have found more definite dogmatic teaching ? It is well known that the crude notions of Paschasius about the Holy Eucharist are widely different from the doctrine laid down by the Tridentine fathers. Heriger, abbot of Lobes, and Rabanus, archbishop of Mentz, on the other hand, contemporary writers, opposed Paschasius, but were not a bit nearer the modern theory. Amalarius, a priest of Metz, added a third view : Bertram or Rattramus, and Johannes Erigena, preceded Berengarius. As late as the 12th century, Peter Lombard admits his inability to define the mode of the conversion, *i.e.* whether formal or substantial ; and the many conflicting opinions which he has produced on the subject plainly attest the unsettled state of the doctrine.¹ How long was it before the Western Church authoritatively decided that the cup might be withheld from the laity ? How long was it before seven Sacraments were ruled to be the appointed number : and still more, whether they were of Divine or Apostolical institution, and what each conferred ? Peter Lombard himself is said to have erred in his exposition of the last point,² and he can only derive extreme unction from the Apostles. As for Confirmation, and Penance, and perhaps Orders,

¹ Sent. Lib. Dist. 11 and 12.

² Ibid. Dist. 4.

he will not define when or by whom they were instituted. How long was it before it was ruled that private penance was valid instead of the public: or that it was obligatory; at least once a year? How long was it before it was settled to whom *Δουλεία, ὑπερδουλεία, and λατρεία* were to be respectively rendered; or that the last of these might be rendered to the cross and crucifix?

It is obvious that until these questions were ruled one way, contradictory opinions might lawfully be held and taught about them. Even now there are numberless deeply interesting questions, which are tossed about from side to side, and differently determined in the most dogmatic of all communions. Even the Tridentine decrees are sufficiently elastic to have been alleged by the Jesuits and Jansenists, by the Gallican and Ultramontane schools: and how long was it before it was practically decided which party was to gain the day? Now it is notorious that there is not more difference between what are called High and Low Church in our Communion, than there was between these parties in the Roman Church; and of these the Jansenists maintained their views more or less a full half-century, while the Gallican view has never been formally condemned. Again, it may still be asked, Is the difference between the primitive and modern Roman Church to be justified on the grounds of a development, the '*disciplina arcani*,' or the like? Is the Pope infallible, and how far: is he superior or subordinate to a General Council? Are the Saints in the Church Triumphant conscious of what goes on in the Church Militant through angelic ministrations, the *speculum Trinitatis*, or otherwise? Are the torments of hell material, or spiritual, or both? Has the millennium passed or not, or is it altogether a false doctrine? Is Rome designated in the Apocalypse, and how far, or in what sense? Why should we not perplex ourselves as much about what the most dogmatic Church has left open or decided equivocally, as about what the Church of England has or seems to have done; for the difference between the two Churches is really not of kind but of degree, as regards the present point.

And even assuming that the Church of England is defective or ambiguous in her teaching, does the fault lie so much with her as with her elder sister? May she not have justly recoiled from dogmatic teaching generally, from observing the unjustifiable excess to which it had been elsewhere carried; and when she saw the great portion of the Western Church making so light of the authority of the written Word; dogmatizing in her traditions, for instance, that our Lord appeared *first* to his Blessed Mother: when S. Mark expressly says that he appeared *first* to S. Mary Magdalene; dogmatizing in her discipline, that

the cup may be denied to the laity, when our Lord had commanded both kinds equally to be received; on the very verge of dogmatizing in her theology that the Blessed Virgin Mary was conceived without sin, when the Scripture doctrine is notoriously that all are conceived and born in sin, who are born in the order of nature? Whose fault is it, we ask, that our Church should be cautious and reserved in her expressions towards the departed, about the power of the keys, and about the Eucharist; unless it is owing to the enormous superstructure with which the primitive doctrines of the one Catholic and Apostolical Church have been overlaid and obscured? Surely dogmatism *did* need a check when it had overstepped piety; and though a recoil from the excess of a thing is apt to lead to the opposite extreme, and though it be admitted to have produced these results in the present instance, still in our return to a more systematic dogmatic teaching, we should be most careful to avoid the error of superseding the inspired Word, against which we have so long and painfully protested.

On the other hand, can it be said with truth, that we have not already abundant positive dogmatic teaching upon certain prime subjects; and these not so limited as Mr. Maskell would insinuate? On the doctrine of the Trinity, he allows we have. Have we *none* upon the doctrine of the Incarnation, the Atonement, the sufficiency of the Scriptures; of original sin, of post-baptismal sin, of free-will, of grace, and the Sacraments? On the last topics, Mr. Maskell affirms her language is undefined and obscure: but *it is only so with reference to the points upon which Rome has been more explicit*; and it is quite possible that there are some things connected with them, upon which the Catholic Church has not pronounced authoritatively, and upon which she still waits for the judgment of a truly Ecumenical council.¹

¹ As for the Irish articles, the principal charge made against them by Mr. Maskell* depends upon the sense to be attached to the term Regeneration, which has never been settled. Our Lord speaks of the general resurrection as 'the regeneration,'† and it is possible that our regeneration may be a continuous act, commenced indeed at our baptism, but not complete before the resurrection of the body; or again, there may be a first and second regeneration, in the same way that, according to Roman theology, there is a first and second justification. The article about the Eucharist expressly limits what is said, however confusedly, to 'the outward part' of the Sacrament.‡ As regards what is said of the power of the keys,§ a similar view was once common in the Roman Church, whatever her more modern views may be; a plain proof her dogmatic teaching is not always unimpeachable. Delahogue says, 'Secunda (opinio) est Magistri Sententiarum . . . scilicet L. iv. Dist. 18, principii instar supponens in pœnitentibus requiri contritionem perfectam, ut a sacerdote valide absolvantur; hinc deducit quod sacerdotes peccata

* Second Letter, p. 29.

† Ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ = ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει — Theophylact. S. Matt. xix. 28. Compare the prophecy applied to the Resurrection of our Lord, Acts xiii. 33.

‡ Second Letter, p. 31.

§ P. 30.

Alas! that one needing the *benigna interpretatio* so much as Mr. Maskell does, should be so merciless towards his own communion. Would it be believed that so ruthless a censor, and a dogmatist, should have laid himself undeniably open to a charge of Nestorianism in his sermons? Who would have believed that one claiming to be a theologian should have penned the following heretical sentence:—

'Christ suffered, and the Godhead suffered not: suffering is not to be attributed to the Second Person of the blessed Trinity. But suffering must be attributed to the Man Christ Jesus.'

We do not deny that what is implied in these words is inconsistent with the doctrine set forth in the next page; we do not deny that it is negated in the very context. Meting, however, the same measure that Mr. Maskell does, we should be following his example if we interpreted his orthodoxy by his fresh heresy, and made the above passage speak for his real views. However, quitting personalities, let us suggest to Mr. Maskell, in the last place, that the Church of England may have been engaged since the Reformation in a widely different work, which left her little time to dogmatize upon what may be called esoteric questions. The Church is called to different offices at different times, according to the different circumstances in which she finds herself. Her dangers are not always the same; and she would show little prudence in occupying herself exclusively with one sort, when others still more formidable were active and at her doors. The great outlines of the Faith the Church must of course ever maintain inviolable; but it would be wanton and unpardonable waste of strength in her, to be busy in systematizing its details with scientific precision, when a philosophy was abroad sapping its very foundations, and threatening its existence; and such was just the case during the last two centuries in England. The English Church had something more pressing to do than to dogmatize; she had to check that which would have rendered all dogmatizing needless. She had to meet the Deistical philosophy, as the early Church had first to combat not so much theological innovators like Arius, but philosophical speculators, who struck at the very idea of an exclusive and final

dimittunt vel retinent, dum dimissa a Deo vel retenta fuisse judicant. Idem sensere S. Bonaventura, Gabriel, Major, Alensis, alique nec pauci nec infimi nominis Theologi.—*Tract. De Penit.* c. ii. Art. 2. Moreover, it might have been more dutiful in Mr. Maskell, at least, to have interpreted them to the best of his ability in the sense of our Articles, our Articles having been equally received by the Irish Church. On the other hand, assuming that his candour did not permit him to gloss over awkward facts, why did his candour omit to allege the Scotch, or in a material respect even the American, Communion office in our favour, as regards what he calls 'the Catholic doctrine of the Sacrifice in the Eucharist'?—P. 61.

¹ Sermons. p. 31, and that in the second edition.

Christian revelation—the infidel heresies of the Gnostics and Manicheans. If similar dangers have revived in later times, who shall dare accuse the English Church of sloth, or of unfaithfulness to her trust, if, instead of shutting her eyes to them, and going on her way as if they did not exist, she boldly recognised the true character of the crisis, and put forth her whole strength in meeting it? and who further, shall dare to say, that she met it unsuccessfully?

We are as far as Mr. Maskell himself from undervaluing dogmatic accuracy, though we may differ from him in our estimate of its tests. But for such a work as this, and performed as it was performed, we take leave to think that the English Church might well leave the perfecting of her dogmatic system to times of less anxiety and peril.

ART. VII.—*Parochial Work.* By the Rev. E. MONRO, M.A.
Incumbent of Harrow Weald, Middlesex. Oxford & London :
J. H. Parker. 1850.

READER, have you ever set out unwillingly on a weary and anxious journey—beginning from the moment you left home to count the hours that would elapse ere you should see it again, and full of that heavy burthensome care, which occupies minds that know themselves unequal to the work they are setting about? and has it chanced to you in the early morning to have your attention arrested by a labourer singing at his work,—singing or whistling with all his might and main, as people do when they are deep in their task, yet thoroughly enjoying themselves in it? and were you not loth to pass him by? did you not look back with a sort of envious wistfulness, longing to join him in the field, or change places with him? and if duty chased that feeling away, yet it may be the remembrance of such a moment was afterwards a stay and comfort to you, and helped you to sing inwardly, when your trouble was at the highest. Somewhat of the like wholesome and cheering effect we may well imagine to have been produced in many a mind by the appearance, just at this time, of such a book as Mr. Monro's. In our daily fight and trouble, in our prayer and strife for the very being, and not only for the well-being of the Established Church of England, endangered now by a heresy which amounts to no less than the denial of all Sacramental Grace: it is a great thing to have attention called to such a specimen of *Parochial Work* in that Church; to read the report, and to believe, as we have all reason to do, that, allowing for human imperfection, it gives a faithful picture of the parish and of the man. In one respect, indeed, it may be far from cheering to most of us: as each man, in the Sacred Ministry especially, shall compare his own doings and his own arrangements with what he finds here, well may it serve to depress and confound him, as all good and great examples do in proportion to our own conscious deficiency. But if there be any manliness in the heart, this will be a wholesome depression and confusion, and the effect will soon show itself in more regular and self-denying ways, and in a happier state of things between the pastor and his flock. For ourselves we must own, that were it not for some such hope, the very perusal of the work, much more the task of reviewing it, would seem almost too much for us. As it is, we are fain to undertake it as we may.

We are fain, in the first place, (however it may put the greater part of us, clergy and laity, to shame,) to recommend

this short treatise, for the points to which it refers, as the best 'Country Parson' that has appeared in our times: the most effectual help towards bringing our authorized machinery to bear in special on our present tasks and emergencies. We could wish to see it studied, (with the exception perhaps of one portion, which we need not specify more particularly, than by saying that its very title in the margin implies it to have been intended for the eye and thought, almost exclusively, of the guides of souls, and, therefore, we have sometimes doubted whether it had not better have been written in Latin:)—with the exception of those pages, we could wish to see Mr. Monro's work very familiarly known to all among us, who love God's Church and His poor. We know of no such help, *for the points to which it refers*:—a necessary limitation, since it does not profess to be a complete Treatise on Parochial Work. In all earnestness and reality it is limited to what the author knows of his own knowledge: chiefly, therefore, at least primarily, it treats of the condition of poor agricultural parishes; and while it abounds in original views, and deep sayings of Philosophy and sacred Polity, enforced often with most touching eloquence, it is marked throughout with that which is perhaps the most unequivocal note of reality and truth—that its generalizations are everywhere visibly bound to the author's own definite and clear experience: in his widest range he never loses sight of the cottage fire-side, or school-room, or confessional chair, whence the course of thought on which he is employed had its origin: like the poet's lark;

—'while the wings aspire, both heart and eye
Are with his nest upon the dewy ground. . . .
Type of the wise, who soar but never roam,
True to the kindred points of Heaven and Home.'

This is his tone and manner—the very tone and manner (if we may venture so to speculate) which indicate one naturally gifted to become a propagator of the Church's Sacramental system: to whom it is a recommendation, not an offence, when he finds much made of very cheap and ordinary symbols: whose joy is rather to begin from the smallest event or reality around him, and trace it upwards and onwards to something very great, than to imagine perfect things at a distance, and long and try to bring the facts of his condition into more exact logical accordance with them. To this, as to so many other points of character, we may perhaps without irreverence apply the Divine maxim, they that are most like little children are meetest for the Kingdom of Heaven—best prepared to teach and work in the Church. For we all know how local, personal, and domestic little children commonly are, both in their speculations and in their

attachments : and what a reality this gives to their sayings and doings, compared with those of the full-grown and conceited world.

In substance, then, Mr. Monro's work may be described as a series of earnest and original remarks on the subjects which shall be now set down in their order. First, the sad and fallen state of English society : concerning which, he says generally :—

‘To do more than sketch the evil which exists to be remedied would exceed our present space. It is the alarming and astounding fact of millions of baptized Christians, living, in cities and villages around us, either in utter ignorance of the religion they profess, or the victims of a deep-rooted and withering infidelity. By the side of the splendid palaces of luxury and ease in the metropolis and other large cities, and within a stone's throw of their doors, are alleys and darkened streets, where in garrets and cellars whole families are grouped, in squalid poverty, filth, and disease, and what is far worse, in a state of ignorance of their awful responsibilities and future destinies which would appal a Hindoo. And often in a space which, if for a moment cleared and unoccupied, would present the features of scarcely more than a small yard of ordinary dimensions, have arisen piles of benighted dwelling-places, whose very mazes and intricacies give one the idea of magnitude, whose occupants never mention the Almighty's name but to curse it, or look on death with any other feeling than as the escape from the miseries of life into nothingness and annihilation ; theatres, gin palaces, and gambling houses, have far outnumbered schools and churches ; and long after the latter have closed their doors for the day, the former pour forth floods of light to lead thousands into their accustomed resort of sin and intoxication. Churches stand dark and silent against the night sky, while these houses of vice blaze with light till the streets cease to echo to the feet of the passing traveller. Nor is the power of evil active alone to satisfy the sensual tendencies of men. Their intellectual yearnings are gratified with an activity, an energy, a zeal truly surprising and worthy of a better cause ; schools are open throughout the hours of the evening, where socialist teachers inculcate their tenets and preach their doctrines to thousands, who feel they have rational powers, which no other body has attempted to call out or give food to. In this way a population is fast growing up around us, bound by no law of God, under the influence of violent passions, far too strong for human law to restrain, ready to burst forth beyond all control against the checks of authority and the call of order ; this is the evil, and this evil many men hope to remedy by the lowest form of mental education. The result will show the wisdom of their expectation ; a far more effective remedy seems to me to lie in the full and active working of the parochial system.’—Pp. 5—7.

Then passing to the state of the agricultural poor in particular, he speaks of their notions of Prayer, of the Sacraments, of Doctrine, their want of reverence, their impurity and dishonesty. We cannot deny that in what he says there is a great deal of sad truth : still we must hope that in very many parishes his statements would appear almost too highly coloured ; it perhaps would have tended to mitigate them, had he been *all his life* conversant with this section of the poor, which we rather apprehend has not been the case. For instance, he is disposed to think a good deal of their calling the Creed a Prayer, and using

it as such : now this, we apprehend, is simply a relic of the old form of devotion, used from time immemorial in all branches of the Catholic Church ;—the form of adding the Credo to the Pater Noster : and their calling it a prayer is no proof that they mistake its meaning : ‘ prayer,’ in their usage of the word, means much the same as our phrase ‘ devotional formulary :’ it is said on their knees, and said to God, and that makes it, in their sense, a ‘ prayer :’ they do not stand upon the logical difference between ‘ prayer,’ ‘ thanksgiving,’ and ‘ confession of sin, or of faith :’ any more than Jesus the son of Sirach did, when he gave the title of Prayer to the eucharistical and moral hymn at the end of Ecclesiasticus. And surely the Creed, said solemnly as in God’s presence, is to all intents and purposes a prayer : it is bringing our spiritual armour, day by day, and night by night, to be blessed : it is making the Sign of the Cross, so to speak, upon our very souls : and who will doubt that such acts have in God’s sight the force and virtue of a Prayer ? We are the more earnest on this point, because we are quite sure that in *some* cases the using the Creed as a Prayer, and so denominating it, is no such token of ignorance, as Mr. Monro’s saying would seem to imply : and it is very undesirable, for many reasons, that our people’s state should be made out worse than it is ; very undesirable, also, most assuredly, that anything should be said which might have the effect, however indirectly, of discouraging the use of that form of sound words in our devotions, which have need of all possible help against Evil Spirits. Any such result, we are sure, must be the farthest from Mr. Monro’s intention : he is well aware that in all our best and most authoritative books of devotion, since the Reformation as well as before, the Creed is prescribed as part of morning and evening prayer. Before the Reformation the Ave Maria was prescribed also : why has not this been continued by our people, as well as the other, if they were merely clinging to a relic of their ancient usages ? In fact, they returned at that period, in this as in many other particulars, to the rules of the Anglo-Saxon time : when it was specially enacted in this Church that ‘ every one imbued with the Christian faith should imbue ‘ his children also with the same faith, and teach them the Pater ‘ Noster and the Credo.’¹ And again, that every one should learn the Pater Noster and Credo before he be buried in consecrated ground, or judged meet to receive Holy Communion, or to be sponsor to a child, or to be confirmed.² No mention at all, it will be perceived, of the Ave Maria ; which in English canons of a few centuries later is carefully inserted into the like

¹ Can. 17, sub Edgare. ap. Hard. tom. vi. 661.

² Ib. can. 22, A.D. 967.

enactments.¹ All this makes it credible, that the customs of our English peasantry concerning the Creed are no token of special ignorance, but arise from the same kind of traditional sense of duty, which works such wonders elsewhere in keeping up the Roman system.

Again, in respect of another usage, which he seems to regard as merely childish, and we have no doubt that it is so in a great many, perhaps in most instances: I mean, the sort of invocation to the Four Evangelists, which comes into some part of very many of our poor men's devotion:—

‘ Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,
Bless the bed that I lie on :’—

we could wish to bring to his notice a passage in S. Chrysostom on 1 Cor. Hom. 43, § 7, Oxf. Transl. S. Chrysostom recommends an alms-chest near the place of prayer, and says, ‘ As often as you enter in to pray, first deposit your alms, and then send up your prayer, . . . since not even *the gospel hanging by our bed* is more important than that alms should be laid up for you; for if you *hang up the gospel* and do nothing, it will do you no such great good: but if you have this little coffer, you have a defence against the devil, you give wings to your prayer, you make your house holy, having meat for the king there laid up in store; and for this cause let the little coffer be placed also near the bed, and the night will not be troubled with ‘fantasies.’ With somewhat of the like feeling, it seems to have been usual in ancient councils (at Ephesus, for example, A.D. 431), to ‘set the Holy Gospel on a throne in the very midst, indicating the presence among us of Christ Himself.’ (Hard. i. 1441.) May not then the familiar couplet alluded to be regarded as a wish or ejaculation addressed to the Almighty, rather than as an invocation, properly so called, to the Saints: a wish, in meaning akin to that ancient Benediction of the Church, ‘May the reading of the Holy Gospel be to us salvation and protection?’ According to this interpretation, (and why should it seem unreal or far-fetched?) our people are no more superstitious in their use of this, than of any other formula, the words of which they do not properly understand: neither can it be strictly called ‘an address to objects short of God.’

Under this head, it startles us a little, as an instance of verbal incaution, to find Mr. Monro saying, ‘the forms in use are equally deficient [with the postures]: *with the exception of the Lord's Prayer*, no other is generally in use, but,’ &c.: as if the Lord's Prayer were a slight exception. Our own experience, again, would not confirm his implied statement, that in principle

¹ Ib. tom. vii. 273 E, A.D. circ. 1237.

our rustic poor abjure prayers for the dead, so that in mentioning friends departed, as they commonly do at their devotions, they are only showing their prayers to be 'in truth a form gone through with a feeling of mere superstition.' On the contrary, we have found much reason to think that the remembrance of the dead in their prayers is a thing consciously and regularly practised by very many, who would be dismayed, beyond measure, at any idea of Roman worship. For instance, an aged dame, who expressed perfect horror of the cross being but mentioned in an inscription over her son's grave, saying, 'the people would surely say, Mother so and so was turned Catholic,' said in the same conversation, that as a matter of course she prayed for her son every night of her life.

We have ventured on these few remarks, partly in justice to our simpler brethren, whose usages, it may be, we are sometimes apt to pronounce upon as hastily as we do on their provincial words and tones, when a little more knowledge of Church antiquities in the one case, and of Anglo-Saxon in the other, would lead to a less severe judgment: partly from a special fear which we have of over-statement on these matters, knowing the kind of use which is but too likely to be made of it: feeling sure also that it will lessen the effect of Mr. Monro's general representations, which, after all allowances, cannot be denied to be sadly and fearfully true.

Under the head of popular ignorance, he says:—

'Our poor are also singularly ignorant on all points of distinctive religious creed: and even on some essential doctrines, as that of the Blessed Trinity, and the Incarnation, they have scarcely gone beyond the impulse and outline of natural religion. They do not realize, with any degree of keenness or consideration, their relation to any one of the truths of Christianity. Adults of a certain age, amongst our labouring classes, will have the appearance very frequently of being religious and devotional in their daily life, and that to a degree to which the poor of many other countries will not seem to have attained, while all the time, on examination, it will be found that they are scarcely more than conscious of their devotion being paid to the Maker of the universe, who will one day judge them. This is in most cases the limit of the objective creed, which they are conscious of, and in reference to which they live religiously. Any distinct views of our Blessed Lord's position with regard to them, of their true condition as sinners, their state with regard to holy Baptism or the Catholic Church, are far from being realized. Or if they do by expression imply an inward consciousness of any such relation, it is in words and sentences so vague, and indefinite, and fruitless, as to convey to one's own mind the impression of great unreality; for instance, the acknowledgment in general terms of being a great sinner, but being unprepared to mention any fault of which they are aware, and their astonishment at being told of any deficiency actually and practically existing in their own character, which they have just pronounced to be materially deficient. In the same way many will be utterly unable to mention on what their hope of pardon is founded, and yet they will at once, if helped to it, fall into a statement of our Blessed Lord's death on the cross. And this absence of consciousness of an objec-

tive creed is one of the striking features of our poor when considered religiously, distinguishing them from the poor of nearly all other nations, and all forms of religion. The faith and ceremonies of heathen systems call out more conscious devotion from the disciples of their creed, more living reality of practice and feeling, more burning zeal with respect to the particular fact, than we generally see approached by our own people. The one would die for the object of his faith, which lives before his soul, while the other is scarcely conscious of any such object to die for, not that he has not got the natural religious impulse to do it, but he lacks the intellectual conviction and grasp of any such object. Consciousness of the points of an objective creed, when keenly defined, gives a reality to expression, a fervour to the life, and an individuality to the faith, which are utterly lost in the more undefined plan of natural religion. We need the revelation of Christianity to make us aware of certain relations we stand in, which we were not conscious of, and of which being conscious, a new energy, life, and reality is imparted to the religious practice. I do not here deny the general religious tone of our poor, and that perhaps in comparison with the poor of other nations it is greater, but this proceeds from what we would call the sincere efforts of a conscientious people under the guidance of the Holy Spirit received at Baptism. I firmly believe, that under catechetical examination our people would lamentably fail, and show an ignorance which would not only shame but astonish many among us. There is, as I said, no lack of a general goodness of disposition and character among the English poor, they are, compared with other populations, singularly moral and well inclined. It is an intellectual deficiency I am complaining of, produced partly by external circumstances, and partly arising from a natural slowness of apprehension. The co-operation of these two causes is seen in many other results, and produces the same vagueness and unreality which has been complained of in their daily use of prayer. *E. g.* they will constantly tell you, if asked about their performance of the duty of prayer, that they "pray all day," and never "cease praying," are "always at prayer," expressions to the last degree unreal, as the very person who has used them will be unable the next moment to give you one clear answer as to what prayer is, or what they pray for. If we look through the great number of phraseologies in use among them, we find the same character attributable to the same cause: expressions with regard to our Blessed Lord's atonement, with regard to the Holy Communion, and the Last Judgment, all taking the same unreality of form. All conventional phrases imply a certain degree of unreality. Modes of expression received from father to son will be found nearly the same in all parts of England, and will be adhered to with a tenacity truly surprising. Certain modes of believing and speaking about Holy Communion have so little reason as to defy all the batteries of reasoning and moral authoritative teaching, and yet with the best intention possible they will cling to them to the last gasp. The forms of expression seem to arise from a certain inward desire to do right, and a conscious dependence on God's providence, which a strong natural religion works within them: but which when receiving definiteness and expression, assumes a form of unreality. The fact is, no people are more real in their actions than the English people, and whatever there is good in them is truly and deeply so, but few are more unreal in modes of expression, and ways of thinking; a condition easily accounted for, from the co-operation of the two causes of a natural intellectual dulness, and the want of any catechetical training.—Pp. 24—28.

We have made this long extract, chiefly for its own beauty and instructiveness' sake, in part also for the sake of intimating

a doubt, similar to what we have ventured on above, whether sufficient account is here taken of most Englishmen's great inability to express in words, what, nevertheless, they feel and know with a very real feeling and knowledge. How continually does it happen, that in speaking with our people on grave points, although it may be they cannot answer a word, we are sure they understand us, by the very expression of their countenances; and if asked, they profess that they do, in a manner which quite satisfies one at the time, and ere long something happens which shows that one was right to be satisfied. This occurs constantly in teaching the duller or shyer sort of children, and in preparing persons for Confirmation and Holy Communion: and unless it be borne in mind, there will be some danger lest persons endeavouring to act on Mr. Monro's hints, do harm by pressing always for definite answers, discouraging the timid, and damaging in many that precious quality of 'reserve' and 'want of consciousness,' on which he so truly and beautifully goes on to remark:—

'There are few people amongst whom the subject matter of deep poetry resides more than among the English poor, still there are few who perhaps are less consciously poets. Take the case of the feeling of the wife; there are not many instances of freedom from selfishness and of self-denying devotion to be found in the world, more striking than that which we find shown by the wife of an English peasant towards her husband. She will bear patiently with outbreaks of the most unreasonable passion, will toil herself for her children when the father spends his earnings on a sensual life; will go without any but the plainest food, that he may have sufficient for his daily work; will screen his faults to the last, when those faults consist in the most cruel treatment of herself; will place herself in numberless difficulties in order to save him from just punishment, and yet with all this she will be scarcely conscious of any definite feeling towards him, and in conversation would give one the impression of indifference and want of affection.'—Pp. 29, 30.

'Verily I say unto you, This poor widow hath cast in more than they all:' but surely we have no reason to imagine that she was herself aware of what she was really doing: but much to apprehend, that had she known, it might have been a snare unto her. The praise and the caution would appear to extend to all other subject matter, as well as that of alms-giving. Let us beware how, in training our people, we interfere with that happy unconsciousness which appears to be the *φυσικὴ ἀρετὴ*,—the natural ground—of true Christian simplicity.

It will be seen that the exceptions which we have hinted at in regard of some of Mr. Monro's statements, relate chiefly to what he says of the better sort of poor persons, and the more promising side of their character. With his confessions regarding the sad prevalence of certain deadly sins among them as a class, we can but in sorrow and shame concur: and yet

we are fain to hope, that the severe bodily labour which is the lot of most of them, may have tended to preserve them in some measure from that utter and reckless voluptuousness—the common and fearful penalty of abused leisure. Nevertheless, it is a sad case, nor has Mr. Monro said a word too much of it.

It is a sad case; how is it to be met? In abstract, perhaps, many answers might be given; to us, in fact and in deed, one only. *Spartam nactus es; hanc orna.* We have, for the present at least, our Parochial system: let us try and make the most of it. What is the Parochial system? It may be defined as an arrangement by which the cure of souls is delegated by the Bishop for certain purposes, according to the terms of institution or licence, to one or more persons, to be exercised within certain bounds. If this be allowed as a correct definition, it would seem that we have implicitly settled by it one of the greatest and most fundamental points, which are apt to be debated among zealous persons, when the question is, How may the Church do her work? Practically, we know, at least to a great extent, people seem to have answered this question for themselves, by determining to be satisfied with the Church's work, when they see 'the Clergy *generally* leavening the people, and giving a tone to society.' But the 'cure of souls' surely implies something very different from this. It may be that in some cases from insufficiency of numbers, in others from other causes which need not be here specified, it has become impracticable for the Priests of our Church to apply themselves severally to each particular soul: but is there any where any one who would deny, that apart from such difficulties, the thing is in itself desirable, and should be the standard at least, for each one of us to measure his work by, how sadly soever he may feel that he falls short of it? Indeed, the word 'cure' by itself tells its own story in this regard; who would think of being 'cared' for, medically cared for, without telling his case to the physician? Who would be satisfied if only care were taken to dispense good medical books among those who were in danger of taking a complaint, and to see to it that the books were read and understood by them? This appears to us such plain common sense, as to admit of only one sufficient answer: the answer of the extreme Protestant. *He* may allege that the whole illustration is idle: that there is no analogy between the two cases, the care of each man's soul being left so exclusively to himself, that it is a sin and an absurdity for any fellow-man to interfere at all between man and his Maker. What sort of a tenet this is, what consequences, if carried out, it would end in, we are not now considering: but at least those who hold it may consistently reject altogether the principle of private confession:

they, and as it seems to us, *they only*. All others must admit the thing to be desirable, however they may differ as to its practicability, or the details of its application. Mr. Monro has illustrated this from the practice of the Wesleyans and others. He has also adverted to some of the ordinary objections: dread of 'Priestcraft;' supposed encouragement of a sort of indolent or idolatrous reliance on man; weakening of the sense of responsibility: to which, perhaps, might have been added, a kind of partial and unhealthy excitement, to which the weaker classes in mind and heart seem liable, especially when entering on the practice; as though they were at liberty to spend all the zeal of which they are capable, unreservedly, upon this one ordinance, and the preparation and direction connected with it: and to provide out of it an ascertainable test of their own and others' condition, much as another school might regard a supposed process of sensible conversion. According to what little experience we have been able to gather on the subject, this is a very real danger: but we mention it here, chiefly for the purpose of remarking, that in common with the other abuses above specified, it applies less, perhaps, to the ordinary population of our villages, than to any other class of persons which might be mentioned. They are usually, as the Monro of a former age has described them, 'thick and heavy, and hard to raise to a point of zeal and fervency, and need a mountain of fire to kindle them.' They have commonly a hard burden of work, and of out-door work, and very often the realities of family care pressing on them at home: so that they have no leisure, no room in their heart to indulge themselves in sentiments and fancies, secular or religious. When they can be brought to pour themselves out to you at all, they do it in a calm uncompromising tone, which proves to you better than any words could, how determined they are to give a true account of themselves. Then as to the notion of abuse in the way of priestcraft (so called) or undue dependence on man, it is not here as in Ireland: our peasantry are, generally speaking, very much bound to their landlords and employers; the most popular clergyman in mixed matters could hardly expect from them more than a divided allegiance; not such as he might gather to himself, if he sought it, from the half-starved denizens of a crowded town, where he might chance to have come into fashion. Then the comparatively reserved and silent habits, of our labouring men at least, would obviate one principal inconvenience which has been sometimes found to attend on the revival of confession among us—the disposition of some under direction to 'gossip' and 'compare notes' even on that sacred subject: on which account, by the by, as well as on many others, it seems highly desirable that all penitents should be

bound by promise to say nothing of what passes (except to persons to whom for some reason they are accountable) as strictly, almost, as the confessor is pledged to silence by the very law of the transaction. As to the idea that confessing sin to a Priest according to the Rubric of the Church of England, and so receiving our Lord's Remission, has the least tendency to unnerve and enslave the spirit of the English yeoman or peasant who avails himself of it, and to deprive him of proper self-respect: it seems to us, we must say, the most foolish and unreal of all possible apprehensions:—a panic raised (we say it in all seriousness) by the only Being who counts it his interest to keep us bound with the chain of our sins. Talk of liberty and enfranchisement!—What is untying of earthly bonds, or escape from earthly tyranny, compared with the sense which the faithful heart has, or feels that it ought to have, of that absolving sentence? It can only be expressed in the words of the Psalm used constantly in reference to Christian Confession, and inspired, no doubt, for that very purpose; 'Thou art a place to hide me in, Thou shalt preserve me from trouble, Thou shalt compass me about with Songs of Deliverance.'

The most valid by far of the objections raised to this ordinance is the fear lest with many, perhaps with the greater part, it may tend to diminish their sense of personal responsibility. But this is obviously a plea, not against confession and absolution, but against over-minute direction: a practice perfectly separable from them, and discountenanced by many who are most eager for them: and among the rest by Mr. Monro himself, who says, p. 38:—

'I wish to be clearly understood as not advocating the direction of people's actions. People surely are not at liberty to devolve moral responsibility upon another. Conscience is God's voice within each of us; and a far higher director for most purposes than any human guide, however exalted in spiritual wisdom; and that guide who, on light grounds, ventures to impose his judgment for its inward guiding voice, runs the hazard of interfering with the operations of the blessed Spirit. But since conscience is deadened and dulled by sin and ignorance, in the case of so many, our duty is to awaken the moral ear to its whisper, to convince of sin, and furnish each man with the especial weapons for its subjection. The priest must see that each is clothed with the whole armour of God. This well done, the detail of daily life in all its relationships may safely be left to the individual's own control. The relationships of man with man are generally so refined and delicate, as to be beyond the power of explanation to another, and how can we expect a safe judgment when the case can, in the nature of things, be only imperfectly stated? A strong-minded and conscientious man would feel himself to be a loser by frequently obtaining a too favourable judgment. Any less stern judgment than conscience would have given, must effeminate the character. But the case of our people does yet demand from us help and sympathy commensurate with the peculiar difficulties and temptations of each.'

In connexion with this subject we may remark, what has of late become but too evident to some who are occasionally invited to act as directors, that the apparent longing for direction (strange to say) is in certain cases but a subtle form of self-will—a feeling about for an excuse to take one's own way. For instance, in points of doctrine people say, 'We want to be told so and so,—let it be the need of Auricular Confession, or a particular view of the Eucharistic Sacrifice,—by a direct decree of the Church immediately binding upon us individually: we will not be content with less; if we cannot see *that* where we are, we must go elsewhere.' Or again they say, 'We have made up our minds that the note of unity in the Church differs from the note of sanctity in this respect, that the latter may be in great measure a mere unrealized tendency, whereas the former, in order to exist, must be carried out perfectly even here in the eyes of men: show us that what you call branches of the Church are one with each other in this sense, or we will not believe that any but one of them can be in the Church at all; and we will go to that one which, in our judgment, alone teaches this opinion of ours:—or in some matter of personal practice, devotional observance, or the like, they give one plainly to understand, that a particular way of going on is *in their judgment* necessary for their souls' good, and they are sure they cannot do without it; forbid it, and they must become sceptics or something else. We might go on enumerating many such cases: in which the petition to be guided has just about as much reality in it as a Congé d'Elire, or the summons at Bow Church when the elect of Manchester or Hereford had to be confirmed. The unfortunate 'director' can in general plainly see, from the very beginning of the interview, that all it means is, 'I have made up my mind, but I would fain have you responsible for it:' but he has not the courage, or the harshness, whichever it should be called, to cut matters short: so he says in an embarrassed way what occurs to him for the time, and tries to be patient, when the result, which from the first moment he anticipated, actually occurs. Instances like these may well make one afraid of a certain unreality, which has to be guarded against in the use of Confession and Pastoral advice: and which, we apprehend, is hardly separable, except perhaps in some very rare and high cases, from the habit of requiring *minute* and *incessant* direction. Those who have been humoured in such ways are almost sure, sooner or later, to stumble upon some point in which they have a strong will, yet their customary dependence on their guide will not let them be contented without his sanction: and so they are tempted to wander more or less from straightforward truth

and simple dutifulness, under the guise, it may be, of high self-devotion. It is the Priest's business to watch against such abuses, and to give no occasion for them: but they have no force at all as an objection to the legitimate and authorized mode of personal intercourse which the Prayer Book virtually enjoins: on the contrary, it is quite plain, that the more *that* is appreciated and practised, the more easy will they prove both of detection and of cure. Especially as to the class of persons of whom chiefly Mr. Monro is speaking—the working *men* of an agricultural parish:—refinements of dealing, such as we have now exemplified, are little likely to occur among them: rather, we should fear, might we apprehend an obstinate unwillingness to unburthen the mind at all: where that is once got over, (and the experience referred to in this work is enough to show that faith, hope, and love, will in time effectually subdue it,) there will be a force, simplicity, and courage in their communications, most refreshing to those who have to deal with them. As in their bodily, so in their spiritual work, their blunt common sense added to dutifulness, will (by that Aid which is sure not to be denied) scarcely find any thing too hard for it. But it will never come into their heads that they can free themselves of responsibility, when they have once fairly accepted the Doctrine of a Judgment to come. On the contrary, their very object in seeking the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, was to enlarge their responsibility, by obtaining deliverance from the chain of past sin, and better principles to guide them for the future. They felt that their consciences were in a manner seared; they longed to be thoroughly awakened, and made aware of God's Presence and Guidance: but the morbid craving for minute direction seems rather to imply that people count themselves too conscientious—it savours of the mind of those who besought Jesus to depart out of their coasts. A wise steward of the precious sacerdotal grace will know how to correct these latter, and teach them to have root in themselves, without discouraging the earnest desires of the former. He will keep up his pastoral authority, and avail himself of his personal influence, such as he may have, without allowing them to tempt themselves to 'Hero Worship:' if so we may denominate a tendency, which of late years has been and is harming us, and spoiling our good, to a sad and fearful extent.

We pass with Mr. Monro from the question, whether personal intercourse is desirable to another, much harder to be answered:—how it can be sufficiently realized. Mr. Monro puts the following case:—

'Let me suppose a clergyman called to the cure of 1,000 people, 350 of whom are adults, and the remaining 650 minors, ranging from sixteen to

infancy. Let me instance the case in an agricultural district, and the habits of the people as we find them in such neighbourhoods, the men employed on field work till six o'clock in the afternoon on an average through the year, increasing in length towards the height of summer, when the harvest calls on them for later employment. The women during the principal part of the year occupied in domestic work, but during the early weeks of spring employed at planting and couching, and in the time of hay and corn harvest able to earn an additional trifle. With such a population and such occupations, it would not be hard for a clergyman to devote three evenings in the week from six to nine, for the express purpose of seeing such persons individually, in a room either in connexion with the church, or in his own house. Suppose one half of that number communicants, and the ostensible reason for coming, the preparation for Holy Communion once in the month before reception, if Holy Communion be only administered monthly, and the remaining half invited to come for the purpose of preparation for first Communion, or for some other purpose, which I will suggest presently (passing by for a moment the difficulty of inducing them to come at all), in the course of the month the clergyman will have been brought into direct personal communication with each one of his flock for a quarter of an hour before each Communion. It would be easy to expand or to shorten this time, according to the amount of the population, but this is simply suggested as a possible mode of doing it. This kept up continually and systematically, tells wonderfully on the character; the interview looked to and prepared for, becomes a point in the daily life of the individual, up to which and from which his self-examinations tend and date; it becomes the magnet to his character, it gives point and meaning to his religious life, and destroys vagueness; in those few minutes the nature of sin becomes clearer, the difficult work of self-examination is aided by being suggested through the questions of the spiritual adviser. The habit of self-reflection is given, and an interest is created in watching spiritual progress by the expectation of inquiries to be made at the next interview. A habit of watchfulness is formed by the expectation, and with watchfulness prayer and daily effort.—Pp. 52—54.

Now to this, we know, scores and hundreds of clergymen will say at once, 'Alas, this is too high for me: it is very well for a 'gifted person, but I have not the gift either of persuading my 'people to come, or of dealing with them to good purpose when 'they are come:' we shall say this, and well may we say it; but let us not, therefore, turn over the page in despondency. After all, it is but an instance of that which we must all feel in every part of our pastoral office. From beginning to end a man seems to his own conscience to be 'exercising himself in great matters which are too high for him.' Every little child that he has to deal with proves to him how powerless, how unworthy, what a lifeless wooden creature he is; and yet he knows that he must go on: 'a necessity is laid upon him; yea, woe is unto him if he preach not the gospel:' he has opened his mouth unto the Lord, and he cannot go back: he has put his hand to the plough, and he must not look behind him. Therefore he need not be too much cast down, if in this, or in any other instance, he lights upon a pattern or standard, clearly intended for his use, yet as clearly (to his thinking) beyond all imaginable reach of his.

True conscientiousness, true energy, true and cordial good meaning will be shown in such a case, not by looking on (or looking off) in a kind of despairing admiration, but by taking at once in hand so much of the suggested course of action as one's own immediate calls and circumstances allow, and by watching and praying for opportunities of doing more. All this is so obvious, that we are almost ashamed to set it down. But such truisms have their use, both for writer and reader, properly taken : they are like breaking out in the clear morning air into some bold and familiar tune, by way of driving off thoughts that perplex and haunt you, though at the bottom you know them to be unreal.

Let the guide of souls look at the matter in this plain common sense way : let him first, as need shall require and occasion shall be given, rid himself of his own burthen, and one by one, by quicker or slower degrees, he will be made to perceive how he may help in taking off the burdens of others. In his suggestions, let him avoid language which is sure to be misunderstood, and which is, therefore, in the particular case, false, although some, perhaps, might adopt it through excess of frankness : *e.g.* such phrases as 'direction,' 'auricular confession,' and the like, however one may desire to use them for sympathy's sake with holy men abroad and their writings, are yet better not used by us, not merely lest offence be created, but also because they would really cause misapprehension ; associated as they are in almost all minds with something more absolute, peremptory, and indispensable, than we should practically mean by them.

In this, as in almost all other respects, the Prayer Book will be found the best help. Its requirements cannot be carried out, in our dealings with either the sick or the whole, without bringing this matter, of opening their minds to the Priest, clearly before them. It is well to make this plain, when in our ministrations we first introduce the subject : people ought by all means to understand clearly that such is our plain duty according to the Rubric ; that it is not we who speak, but the Church in the Prayer Book. Now, if men are really borne down by the weight of their sins, and not embarrassed with Ultra-Protestant prejudices, it is morally impossible that those sayings of the Prayer Book, fully and gravely set before them, should not sink into their hearts : but it will be often necessary to allow them a great deal of time ; we must deal with them in the gentlest and most gradual way ; we must not be too much like children, always wanting to stir the ground where they have put in some favourite seed, to see whether it have begun to shoot. From time to time the hint may be repeated, both in public and in private advice ; and for this, as for other reasons, it will be most desirable, when it may be prudently and effectually done, to enforce generally

(not universally) the Church's rule that all Communicants should give notice a while before celebration. That this rule may be enforced, and that without giving offence or suspicion, we happen to know, by the practice of a good and devoted Priest of what is called the Evangelical School, who kept it up, we believe to very good effect, during many years' ministry in a town parish. How he proceeded with those who gave him notice, cannot of course be known: one can hardly conceive but that many must have been induced to open their minds to him; at any rate, his practice showed that the rubric in question need not be always a dead letter.

The mere enactment, too, of that rubric by our Church, is a strong fact in favour of the system of personal intercourse here recommended, especially if we are to understand the term 'open and notorious sin' in the sense of 'known and flagrant,' rather than of 'commonly discoursed of,' which interpretation, we should have thought, plain common sense forces upon us; for otherwise we are driven to conclude, that if the Priest were personally aware of a candidate for Communion having committed murder or adultery, still he ought not to refuse him the Sacrament, unless the congregation were also aware of it.

No doubt, if this simple rule of the English Church could be generally kept, it would help us more than any one thing towards that habit of personal intercourse, in which our best hopes of successful ministration must lie. It would give us the same vantage ground with our Communicants, towards perseverance and improvement, which would be given us towards Non-Communicants by that other rule, of receiving three times in the year, Easter being one. Whoever will reflect, will perceive that these two rules, duly made known and followed up, would constitute a regular and effectual system of Church Discipline with Adults, even as the rules about Sponsors, Catechising and Confirmation would secure a complete Church Education for children. The machinery is there; we need only the moving power. Let there be a religious and living sense of Church authority, and the work of discipline, as well as doctrine, is done for us.

But this is a digression. We were about to observe on one result of these or similar processes being adopted as Church rules, which at first sight might appear trivial, but which many persons will know by experience to be of no small practical consequence. It takes off at once all the awkwardness and difficulty of breaking ground on these matters between the Priest and the members of the flock. Without practice, one would hardly conceive the amount of hindrance in our pastoral relations due to this one cause; aggravated as it is among us by our Anglo-Saxon shyness,

or pride, or reserve. The Priest visits house after house, and comes away again leaving unsaid that, which to express was the very object of his visit. The parishioner meets or receives the Priest again and again, and is ever on the point of making some disclosure, and as often his heart fails him, and they pass by as they met; and all for want of some distinct rule or custom, some recognised, formal, conventional mode of communication, which should free what is said and done of personalities, painful or agreeable, and cause it to be all taken as in the way of business and duty. This would be in good measure supplied by the more general acknowledgment of Church Rules, such as we have referred to.

Another great and (in one sense) never-failing help, in such embarrassment as we have alluded to, has been found by some, in making a rule to open all such conversations with a short and silent act of devotion:—*e.g.* before one begins to speak to a Parishioner concerning any case of conscience, or to examine a Candidate for confirmation, one might use one's self and them to say the Lord's Prayer severally in their hearts. People have seemed to find great help in this.

Of course it is of the very greatest importance that every thing should be *sub sigillo, on both sides*: but on this we have spoken before. One point which did not then occur, we may just advert to in this place: the need of care to avoid, in these pastoral interviews, all gossip and personal talk about others—a thing which has been sometimes even ludicrously complained of in foreign Penitentiaries; and it will be found perhaps that conversations with communicants, and people supposed to be more or less advanced in religion, are more dangerous in this respect than when we have to do with beginners. In speaking of how to do others good, and of the cases of conscience which have occurred relating to them, very well meaning Penitents are apt to glide insensibly into disquisitions, most foreign to the purpose for which they came to the Priest.

A few grains of old English common sense, or rather of Christian prudence and charity, applied to the realities of English life (a grace to be specially prayed for as well as cultivated), will effectually guard us from all these and the like absurdities, and will be rewarded, through God's blessing, with many a repetition of that sight, dear to angels, (if one may say so without presumption,) of a noble-hearted English peasant on his knees in humble confession, making an unreserved offering of himself, and never dreaming that what he is about is at all out of the common.

The foundation of Parochial Work being thus laid in personal

intercourse, the several usages and ministries of which it consists, in church and out of church, fall into their several places, and assume more and more of their true meaning and importance in the eyes of those who are to be profited by them. The Daily Service, for example, with or without its choral and architectural helps, will necessarily wear quite a different aspect in a parish which is duly and constantly visited, from what it does in a cathedral town, or in a village less happily circumstanced. Many who, in the one case, would esteem it a mere 'crotchet' of the Minister, will, in the other, be led to regard it in its true light, as an exercise of Divine communion, and a means of obtaining Divine help. We once, indeed, knew of a resident in a parish which was served by a most active and zealous Clergyman, saying to his Vicar in a fit of spleen, 'And then there is your Church bell continually going—the sound of it is never out of one's ears : ' but the man was an avowed Dissenter : had he been one of the flock, he would soon have come to understand the purpose of such constant resorting to the Chief Shepherd : he would have seen something of the wear and tear—the forebodings and misgivings incident to the cure of souls : he would have thought it well that one so anxious, so determined to spend and be spent, should have a place where he might go to rest awhile in the Life-giving Presence, and to keep up his heart and strength for the work. On their own account, too, as well as on their Minister's, they will have thoughts about the daily service, which they would not have had but for the aforesaid personal intercourse. In proportion as they become aware of the value of their own souls, and of Christ's intercession, will they think more of the Church Prayers, even those prayers which they cannot attend on themselves : they will think it a great thing to be so remembered and prayed for : absent in body, they will try to be present in spirit : the plough or the loom which they are guiding will seem in a manner to keep time to the sounds of 'Mr. Herbert's Saints' bell ringing to prayers : ' and the beautiful custom of other times and countries will be in effect revived among us—men will pause for a moment from their hard work to acknowledge the Church's warning of each sacred hour as it comes on.

For it is a great mistake to measure the effect of Daily Service altogether by the number of attendants on it. The fact that it is going on, if it be thought of at all, (as it will be if associated with the labours and character of a priest who is much among his people,) will tell upon the place, gradually and in insensible ways. To aged and infirm persons, persons who for any cause are 'laid by,' the visit to the Church will be the event of every day, to which they will look forward and backward with a

sort of home feeling, inexpressibly soothing to old age. Those who are familiar with such, know how frequently they refer to it, how they anticipate the renewal of it after any slight interruption, what music the contemplation of it makes in their minds, by their quiet firesides, or as they lie awake in the night. It is out of all reason that this should not make some difference to those who wait upon such arm-chairs, or sick beds: here and there one or another of them must needs begin to think there is something in it: Martha cannot be for ever busy about Mary, and not find out something of the secret of her calm happiness.

The attendance of children, again, is a great point: and here we are rejoiced to find Mr. Monro's sanction unequivocally given to the practice of including the village school in the daily as well as in the Sunday congregation, in spite of certain obvious difficulties. Our own experience fully justifies the rule: supposing, of course, that care is taken to enforce outward reverence and attention. However listless and dreamy many of the little ones may seem at the time—however restless their eyes and fingers, (provided their voices are kept quiet, and they are not allowed wilfully to disturb one another,) it is not in a child's nature not to love and revere the place where he is so taken day after day: the sounds, and ways, and other remembrances of the place will enter, if permitted, into all the corners of his heart, and will haunt him for his good as long as ever he lives. And it may be found, perhaps, where circumstances allow it, that there is no better way of teaching Scripture history, than by catechising on the daily lessons in Church immediately after the service—the place and time assisting to maintain that religious awe, which ought always to accompany that part of young people's instruction, but which is too likely to fail when it comes in as a portion of the common routine in the school-room. Thus, too, the important point is being continually realized, that Holy Scripture is, in fact, taught us by the Church, not by the individual instructor.

To us it appears of so great consequence that the very old and the very young should have their respective parts, and feel their interest, in the daily service, that for the sake of it we can be content, at least for one of the two offices, to forego the chance of more general attendance on the part of the labouring poor: and it has been partly, we apprehend, with this view, that the hours of matins and even-song have been fixed, in some instances, at the times so severely animadverted on by Mr. Monro—10 A.M., for instance, and 4 P.M. The schools, the aged people, and in some cases, certain invalids who had much claim to be considered, were found to be strong arguments for the arrangement which he objects to. But further experience seems

to have shown that 10 P.M. and 7 or 8 A.M. are, on the whole, the most likely hours to be convenient in a country parish.

Of course, when Mr. Monro says that men must be first worked on individually—that it is unreal, and untrue, to expect men to attend daily service, when they are not leading lives fit for it;—he does not mean that we should wait till the parish is reformed before we begin opening the Church daily: he himself says, ‘I would not be supposed to say that daily prayers should not be used in untaught parishes:’ since, even in the most neglected, there would be found, by God’s blessing, a few who would deem the open Church a privilege, God’s secret discipline having prepared them for it. And since such privileges are intended and offered, where only two or three can be gathered to claim them, it should seem that the minister, in such case, has, strictly speaking, no choice, no right to withhold them. Still, though in order of time both may be commenced at once and go on together; in the order of cause and effect, personal intercourse, or the discipline equivalent to it, must go before daily service. ‘Before thou prayest, prepare thyself;’ before thou invitest thy people to pray, do what thou canst to set them on thinking of God. In substance, it is much the same sentiment as that of Bishop Taylor, when he directs his Clergy, ‘in taking account of the good lives of themselves and others, to take their measures, *last of all*, by their observation of the ‘ordinances and exterior parts of religion.’ Last of all, in order, not in importance,—as the top and crown of all the rest; unmeaning or worse, without discharge of other duties, but quite necessary, to make them signs of real goodness.

One point there is about the daily service, and that one of the deepest importance, on which Mr. Monro’s words appear to us peculiarly precious:—

‘There is a soothing influence in the act, a freedom from excitement which all who know it, love. It seems to expect and soothe the awe which the objects of religion must wear to the soul, it prepares men for the solemn and terrible in the things of God. Excitement in religion raises the awful without allaying it. Men are not conscious of it at the moment, nor often know the real effect of excitement till it is past. If men consider it, they will see, that excitement in religion has always left an indefinite awe behind, a sense that the feeling of excitement has been unduly exerted, that the object of it was far beyond it, that it was a feeling unworthy of its end; the latter was too great, too vast to bear such a mode of approach. It is a case which is met by the calm monotony of daily prayer, where the truth of the object is taken for granted, and no further search into it allowed; there it is made the ground-work of devotional exercise, the unquestioned and uninvestigated subject of constant petition. It seems to enable us to meet the solemnities of God without undue terror, it allays the feverish excitement and consequent alarm and suspense of frequent search, and forms in men an humble, devout habit of mind. We appeal to men who have tried it, to answer to the truth of what we have said. That men do fall back

on it, as the more real of the two states, we appeal to the fact, that while the services, attendance at which is made to depend on the excitement of preaching, are awhile attended with eagerness, and services which are divested of everything save the act of "monotonous" devotion are little used or valued at first; on the other hand, the attendance on the former gradually dwindles away, and that on the other, by degrees, becomes more settled, more frequent, and more devoted. Men do really love and yearn after sameness. It is tedious and irksome in the end, though at the moment it may be pleasing, to undergo excitement. How truly the Church has seen and answered this part of man's constitution! She becomes the calm home of her children in all their troubles through this scene of strife; she is the same, though they change; she alters not, however altered they may be; she recalls her children, by the oft-heard voice of daily prayer, to leave the world and come to God. Who can tell the tranquil peace created by returning, day after day, at the same hour, to the same house, to say and hear the same words? We go there when friends are cold, and are led to One who never changes; we go there in sorrow, and her sentences fall into accents of sympathy and comfort; we go there in prosperity, and the echo of sorrow has not left her walls; we are reminded to rejoice with trembling; her sorrow is sweet, her joy softened; we go there when our hearts are cold and tinged with the world's spirit, and we find the power of our warmer feelings, our closer communion, still clinging to her prayers and exhortations, still bound up, as it were, with her very stones, and we are melted into tenderness again. When we have grown worldly, the prayer we used in sorrow brings us back, for it is the same prayer, the same power still, though we have changed; the words we sent up with fervour, in our days of deeper devotion, again arouse the feeling when it has fled from our mind. She is in every tone, form, and detail, the sweet and kind remembrancer of better things. On the ear of death, the same voice falls which claimed us at baptism, and cheered us ever since. She is one voice with many tones, but whether the tone sink on the room of sickness or death, whether it fall on the unconscious sense of infancy, or the opening mind of youth at confirmation, or whether it consecrate the changes of life, or call us to oft-communion, it is the same sweet mother's voice, recognised through the medium of its thousand tones.—Pp. 83—85.

Then, after speaking of the Church's associations with antiquity, he dwells on her soothing power to recal the times of our own boyhood: and so to satisfy that natural yearning,

'The child is parent of the man,
And I would wish my days to be
Bound each to each by natural piety.'

'It speaks to us, not only as members of one body, but, as I said above, as individuals made up of successive periods of existence. She is our mother; she had our first love, and heard it often repeated at her altar, and will speak to us with an accustomed love in our last hours. Her daily prayers are the links of the chain which unites the first with the last day of our life, reminding us of the sameness of our being, and that the highest view of sameness is our connexion with God. When the world has touched us with its icy hand, she melts its grasp with the recollection of the simplicity of childhood, of the trusted truth of her catechising, of the fresh energy of her confirmation. She remains simple; she reminds us we were simple once, when we, perhaps, have almost forgotten simplicity. The feelings we had at the dying hours of those we loved, and the changes in us they made, the world has perhaps chilled; but we go back to her and she re-opens the fountain of tears which had dried up, and

places us again by the side of those whom the world would have us forget. Their spirits are still with her, and we find them there. Her creeds are a word about them; the world would have us forget them when we left them, but she continues on through the dying hour; with her it was but a change from one state to another. All this belongs to her associative power; these and a thousand more are the objects she offers to our feelings, which yearn after association; feelings which will, which must, have a home; and the act which applies all this to each individual is daily prayer. In doing thus, does she not consecrate a natural desire to God? Does she not, in the meantime, refine and chasten the whole character, intellectual and moral?—Pp. 86, 87.

All, more or less, are aware of this as a fact; but all are not quite aware to how great an extent it depends on a certain monotony, a low unvarying accent, a 'brooding over her own sweet voice,' which marks our Mother's enunciation and manner, as distinctly as sameness of doctrine—the *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*—belongs to the *matter* of her teaching. The well-known tradition of the last of the Apostles, carried for years day after day into Church, and day after day repeating simply, 'Little children, love one another,' is a type and symbol of the Church's monotonous song. As another instance of it, we will mention a fact known to ourselves. An aged priest who had served God in the same parish more than fifty years, and was sincerely loved as the father of his flock, told us that, in all that time, he had never used any form in visiting the sick, except the office in the Book of Common Prayer. It was not that he prayed without any form—that was not at all his line—but we understood him to mean that he had such faith in the authority and wording of that Office, as to deem and find it sufficient, like the Lord's Prayer, for all the calls of the sick bed, so various and varying. And now the very mention of the Lord's Prayer suggests another, the highest of all sanctions, for thinking that our petitions may often be better suited to our needs, by adopting the same words in several associations, than if we were to provide ourselves with new forms of words. The principle of the rosary may be employed with good effect, among us as elsewhere; and especially, perhaps, in helping the devotions of the poor and unlettered. The instructing them in it may be as simple a way as any of helping them to mingle some meditation with their prayers. And (trivial as it may seem, we will venture the suggestion) why should not the fingers be used as a natural rosary, to help the memory and attention, in prayers thus made up of many parts, or in the several applications of the same prayer? in recalling, *e. g.* the names of those who are to be remembered in intercession?

It may seem, at first, inconsistent with the recommendation of calmness and monotony in devotional services, that so much should be said (pp. 90—100) in favour of extemporary preaching;

but the experience of those ages and countries, which all would agree to call Catholic, is appealed to, and the appeal can hardly be resisted. It would appear that exact forms, and measured and musical devotions, prepare and brace men for free and energetic preaching, as soldiers are prepared and braced for single combat, when it shall be necessary, by the restraints of the drill, and of orderly manœuvring in masses. It may be that Mr. Monro has a little over-estimated the power of speaking without book, merely as such :—its effect, we mean, in touching and interesting the poor. Perhaps the frequenters of the House of Commons, and of our Courts of Law—sometimes even the attendants on extemporary sermons—might tell us that dulness is not seldom incident to that mode of oratory. Quite as often, we suspect, as to the other, in proportion to the number practising each. Perhaps, too, such a passage as the following, true as it undoubtedly is in its literal wording, might mislead eager persons endeavouring to act upon it.

‘Any conscious gulf or distance between them [the poor] and their moral teachers at once repels them, drives them off, and makes them feel they are not standing on level ground. The general that will gain the sympathy and confidence of his troops, must sleep with the private soldier, and share with him the rough food of the campaign; the latter will then realize that he is commanded and addressed by one who speaks to him from a level ground, shares the same nature, and undergoes the same hardships. And the clergyman who will gain the trust and confidence of his people, must be as they are, and do as they do, show he can suit himself to their understandings, their ways of expression, their ideas; must make them feel he is in earnest by appearing as one of them.’—Pp. 92, 93.

Is there not here some danger of unreality? at least, would it not have been well to point out that some (we should say, not a few) overshoot the mark in this respect, speaking to their people, as nurses to children, in a way which savours of affectation, and which the people themselves discern to be unnatural? and they are not slow in such discernment. This, however, applies more to common discourse than to sermons. There is no harm just now in a little jealousy on this point. After all, the distinctions of learned and unlearned, clerical and lay, gentle and simple, are real distinctions, and the poor are most willing to recognise them. They feel it but an indifferent compliment, though in the way of amusement it may attract them, when one who is not as they are, makes believe to be so. Sympathy, true love and sympathy, taking trouble in all ways to do them good; and among other ways by plain and affectionate speech—*that*, of course, is what they want: it will not the less do its work, because the person feeling it is of another rank, provided he take no pains either to conceal or to show that he is so.

Simplicity in this kind will need to be insisted on, according to present appearances, with a view to another class of teachers also: we allude to those who appear to be coming forward to our aid (not before they were wanted) from the middling and even from the lowest ranks of life. Most desirable it is that as many such as possible should receive proper training, and be ordained: but as in those just mentioned, we may apprehend a sort of affectation of 'low life,' so to these we should say, Do not be grand, do not be pompous, do not think it necessary to appear a scholar or a gentleman. Simplicity, in short, ought to be the watchword of both—nothing will quite make up for the want of it, among our English poor especially.

We have said this much by way of qualification, but in substance we quite agree with Mr. Monro, that preaching without book, where it may be well had, is most desirable: but why? because in order to be effective it must in general partake of that calmness and (almost) monotony, with which the Church in her services speaks to her people. For without calmness and self-possession, how can one have even plainness of speech? the sentences will surely become involved and unmeaning, the latter end of them will forget the beginning, and what becomes of edification then? But the earnest and sober inculcation of truths and practices acknowledged to be right will of itself savour of monotony: except so far as strong conviction and anxiety will from time to time force a person (as S. Paul says) to 'change his voice:' and about this no man need trouble himself; if it ought to come, it will come unconsciously and naturally. A parent, advising his children for their good, does not trouble himself with rhetorical artifices. The drift of all this is, that as in reading or writing, so in preaching, that course is probably best for each person which most enables him to forget himself, and to think only of God, his hearers, and his subject: although we may allow the preference to the extemporal way.

Two great subjects remain, Sacraments and Ceremonies, and Education: to which heads may be reduced the greater part as yet untouched by us of this most interesting work. That of Education, including here Confirmation and First Communion, we must, however unwillingly, pass over *sicco pede*: though to the world at large it is so especially associated with the name of Mr. Monro, that omitting it would almost seem like leaving the spring out of the year. But our readers, we trust, will be all of them *his* readers also. They will find that he deals with boys as with men. Personal intercourse—the Priest's eye and heart—the never quite losing sight of any body, or ceasing to sympathise with him:—this is the turning point with him in

the school as in the rest of the parish. The principal fault which we expect to have found with this part of the book especially, is its requiring too much. People will say, 'Such things may be done at Harrow Weald—in some one or two instances, a person may be found who seems to be every where at once: but to us it is simply impossible.' To all this the sufficient, and in some sort, comfortable and satisfactory answer will be, 'Very true—the thing *is* impossible—just as perfect virtue is impossible—but only *try*, only *do your best*—after all, it is but one way of "never ceasing your labour, your care and vigilance, until no room be left in your flock either for error in doctrine or for viciousness of life." You are a soldier, and it is the heat of battle; you cannot be at rest, but you may win a great reward. What is your reward? Every soul that comes from under your forming hand, prepared by the grace of God for the sacramental life: every worthy and persevering communicant: nay more, every one, who, whatever may be his own sentence, will be constrained to own to the Judge, At least, it was not my Pastor's fault.'

We are trespassing on ground rather too awful for our province: but the special matter to which we would now draw attention, is the Sacramentality (so to call it) of this system of Parochial Work, as being the special secret of its reality and success. By its Sacramentality, we mean its depending entirely on the means specially ordained by our Lord for commencing and nourishing our real participation of Him; its using grace received in Baptism, and taking away all bars to the further grace of Holy Communion. In this system everything else is subordinate to these things. It takes for granted, from beginning to end, that its subjects are all of them in a supernatural state, living among miracles, as the Jews were in the wilderness; and that all that happens to them, all they do, is proportionably ennobled and embased. Now, as the course and order of Moses' law was realized in the camp of Israel, so is this system realized in any parish obeying the Prayer Book in the manner here sketched out: and by such parishes, and the results upon them, is the Prayer Book to be judged of, not by what happens where its enactments are slighted, and its doctrinal definitions set aside at the will of aliens. It is no more reasonable to object to the system of the Prayer Book on account of what happens in such parishes, than it would be to object to the very Decalogue because the Israelites worshipped the calf. We want this to be well considered: we say, there is a reality, a substance, a harmony of parts, in Mr. Monro's sketches of Church work, which is utterly wanting in those views of the pastoral care, which leave out or extenuate the Sacramental element, as also in parishes attempted to be conducted on those views.

Admit the supernatural life of the baptized, as we state it, and all the portions of our Prayer Book, all our parochial doings will fall around it into their proper place: it is the key to the whole cypher, the screw which adjusts the whole machinery; deny it, and the whole, both of the Prayer Book and of the parish, is confusion; no two men will find their way in it alike. This appears to us a strong argument, both for the sacramental view itself, as being the intended view of God's Holy Spirit in His Church (if it be not irreverent for Christians to argue such a point on such grounds); and also for its being, most unequivocally, the view of the Church of England in her formularies. It is the only way to make sense of them, or to carry them out in practice. It brings along with it the same sense of reality, as compared with the popular and State view, which the great sceptic acknowledged to accompany certain common-sense notions, as compared with his own theory. 'I dine,' he says, 'I play a game at backgammon, I converse, and am merry with my friends: and when I return to these speculations, they appear so cold, so strained, and so ridiculous, that I cannot find it in my heart to enter into them any further.'¹ So it is, if men would but confess it to themselves, when they come back to real parochial work, from their Calvinistic or Puritan theories. This is acknowledged, in fact, by the patrons of such theories, some of them by station of high authority, when they enforce the necessity of treating all the congregation as regenerate, though in the same breath they allow it to be affirmed that their regeneration is merely hypothetical. Common sense is in this instance too strong for their consistency.

But if this be so, then it is evident that the concessions to Puritanism, on which many are disposed to rely as proving the unreality of the English Church, are in fact entirely alien to her. They are defects in discipline, not in doctrine. They touch her well-being, not her being. Sinful connivance they may prove; they never can prove formal heresy. And in this way such pictures of the English system of work as this volume contains, may have a deep providential use just at present, over and above their moral evidence: they show that the Catholic interpretation of our formularies is that which most strengthens our hands, and causes all the means in our power to act together most effectually and easily. A sensible, dispassionate observer will recognise here the right interpretation, no less certainly than a ripe and good scholar in a language does the true grammatical construction of a sentence.

For remaining differences between us and the like principles as developed in other countries, Mr. Monro would in good mea-

¹ Hume, as quoted by Bishop Horne, Works, iv. 334. Ed. 1818.

sure account from differences of national manners and character. He may have laid rather too much stress on this: we will not now enter into that question, but undoubtedly, in such measure as it is well-grounded, it is a good point in corroboration of our English theory. *In dubiis libertas*: of two systems, *that* is the more Catholic which in such things gives freer scope to the varieties of country and race. And it will be found, perhaps, that our English theory does this as compared with the Roman: we do not say, our system received in practice, fettered as it is, and benumbed in every joint and organ, by the cold, cruel, unbelieving State; but we are speaking of our theory and principles, which, if ever by God's merciful interposition we are left free to carry them out, will prove themselves, we are persuaded, far more elastic and powerful, more applicable to all men in all their needs, than most of us have any idea of.

Let men say what they will, the Prayer Book has really done its work in our country parishes to a wonderful extent, considering all things. And O, that the Bishops and Clergy of England would throw themselves in faith upon it, in this moment of our agony! It is not for us to dictate, or even to suggest: but even concerning our superiors there are thoughts which *will* at times force their way out; and we have read of 'a little maid,' who in love and faith spoke out her wish, and it was blessed to the healing of a leper, and the conversion of 'a mighty man in valour.' We too will speak out our wish: and it is this—that our Bishops did but know how entirely sacramental (generally speaking) is the religion of our country congregations, so far as it is sincere: how utterly, with the ordinary sort, the 'Evangelical' movement, (so to call it,) has failed. It is all very well to point to good persons of one's acquaintance, and say, 'See here, or see there; what excellent fruits have grown upon the stock which you decry;' but surely the tendency of a system must be judged of by its results upon the ordinary and average sort. A few very good persons may not be the worse for 'Low-Churchmanship:' (although who can say how far their goodness may be due to sacred things which they seem to undervalue, more, however, in word than in heart?) but—we say it without fear of effectual contradiction—whoever comes with an unbiassed mind to a parish where these views have had sway, will find that with the generality the effect has been simply immoral, except so far as it has been assuaged by constant use of the Prayer Book, *i.e.* by the sacramental principle so far lingering among them. Because, whatever be men's purity and sincerity, if there be an Antinomian element in their teaching, there is always one at hand who knows how to make the most of it: and if a zealous self-denying Clergyman, blinded so far by hereditary prejudice, or

by misapplied logic, or by some other human infirmity, says to a man, 'Your Baptism may have been only a form;' the interpreter in question will presently suggest the thought, 'I am not then perhaps in a supernatural state and relation; I am not in possession of any special inward privileges; my sins, for aught I know, or my neglects of duty, have no particular tendency to "quench the Spirit;" of course they are bad, but not so very bad: it is not the case of the unclean spirit returning.' We know too well, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, what the end of such a process as this will be.

Well, this experiment has been tried on a large scale in our parishes now for two or three generations; and the result is, as we have said, that devout and thoughtful Churchmen have been thrown back more and more on the literal meaning of the Prayer Book, as their only safeguard against a most fatal self-deceit. For themselves and for others, they have been made to feel, more deeply as their experience has been more abundant, how greatly this security is needed, and how very thankful they ought to be, that our trumpet in this matter gives no uncertain sound, how frequently soever unfaithful or ignorant watchmen may decline to give it utterance. Now, there is not in all the land one such as we have now described, who is not prepared, consciously or unconsciously, with all his heart to welcome and support any measure which our Fathers in Christ may think proper to take, for the effectual disavowal of the false doctrine which an intrusive Court has just sanctioned, overbearing the Courts of the Church. For instance; if the many Bishops who have expressed concurrence, so far as doctrine goes, with addresses deprecating that decision, would openly declare themselves resolved, as no doubt they are resolved, to refuse institution to any one notoriously holding that doctrine; such a declaration would awaken and attract, far and near, sympathies which they dream not of: and would reassure the hearts of hundreds, who are even now fainting for want of it; scarce knowing whom to trust, or what to believe. Or if such declaration were thought inadvisable, as bidding what might seem premature defiance to the civil power; at least a well-considered statement of their Lordships' own judgment might be put forth in the nature of a Pastoral Letter, implying that there should be a limit *somewhere* to the range of hypothetical interpretation. Anything, we had almost said, (and we believe it to be next to an axiom for the due discharge of the Pastoral care in all cases,) anything is better than the mere ignoring of difficulties, and professing not to see why people are disturbed.

On the other hand, we cannot conceal it from ourselves, that if representations such as we have now indicated to our spiri-

tual superiors ultimately fail, and the 'ignoring' system be left to produce, far and wide, its natural results—tempting many to defection and unbelief, and wounding the hearts which, by God's mercy, will not be tempted—it will not be the fault of one order only in the Church: the parochial Clergy will have to bear, it may be, the largest share of the burthen; for how can they expect the Bishops to have faith in the Prayer Book, and to trust the Christian people as having it, when they have it not themselves? We speak what we know of our own knowledge, when we affirm that in an average rural parish, whoever will have the patience to explain to the communicants of his flock the true meaning of the doctrine which is now disturbing us, and the kind of authority by which it is enforced, will find a very general consent, and by no means an unintelligent one, in any reasonable and temperate remonstrance which he may see fit to address to those who are set over him. He will find that few parents are content to be taught, or to have their children taught, that infants carried out of church after Baptism are, for aught we know, in no better a spiritual condition than when they were brought in. He will find that few religious and thoughtful Englishmen love to have their most solemn services associated with all sorts of sophistical evasions, and the elementary instruction of their children so worded, as to require from beginning to end a set of notes and illustrations, explaining it away. He will find few persons of common sense (supposing them always to have *some* sense of religion) who will think it wise and good to leave people open to contradictory teachings with equal authority, on an article of the Creed which bears immediately on every moment of their daily life. Those, even, who cannot read, will tell him at once,—and, as one used to their ways, he will feel sure of their telling him true,—that they understand the case, are shocked at the oppression, and abhor the false doctrine. As he goes up and down the village street, he will be accosted by persons anxious on the subject, wanting to know what they can do, or whether the truth is likely 'to win the day.' One man will say, 'Our Lord bade children come to Him; He did not say, Bring some, and leave the rest.' Perhaps some aged person, trembling with eagerness even more than with years, will half whisper as she makes her mark, 'To think that this should have been taught so many hundred years, and now they be for doing of it away!' Another will ask, 'If they don't believe this, whatever *can* they believe?' Here and there, one more thoughtful than the rest will report that 'he has been looking in the Prayer Book and Testament,' and as far as he can make out of what he finds there, 'if it be as this new teaching says, why did our Saviour die? surely He must have died in vain.' One who knows better

than the rest what contrition and confession are, may remark, with an anxious look, 'If this be so, I don't see how poor wretches be ever to get out of it:' meaning distinctly, that such dealing with Baptism shakes the foundation of the doctrine of Penitence also. And should there happen to be there one leavened with another doctrine, the chances are that while he declines joining in remonstrance, he will frankly own that there is a grievance for all who love the Prayer Book: 'for surely these sayings tear the Prayer Book to pieces.'

Experience tells us, that where the Prayer Book has been but fairly allowed to have its own way, the impression on the mind of a congregation of the average sort will be such as has been above exemplified: now what hinders, but that English priests should employ themselves, at such a time as this, not only in fixing and deepening such holy traces, and in getting their people to act consistently with them, but in reporting them also, by signed memorials or otherwise, to the Chief Shepherds, with distinct intimation how keen and vivid the feeling is, and how impossible it must be, that so believing we can ever be contented to give up the security which we have hitherto enjoyed against being disturbed in that faith?

It seems due both to our Bishops and our Laity, that we make them mutually aware of what is going on—that we 'suffer not things to pass away as in a dream.'

The strength of the Church now, as in all times, must be in the poor of the flock—taking that phrase in its widest extent and meaning; and our best chance of prevailing, that is to say, of not losing our hold on the consciences of the people of the land, must be, to throw ourselves unreservedly on those whom the Scripture so designates: or rather, through them on their Lord. Let us take with us first to our heavenly Father the hearts and prayers of the devout and poor people, by solemn and special intercession: *e.g.* by occasional or regular use of the Litany, 'For the Church of England in her present distress,' on Wednesdays and Fridays in the early morning. Then let us take with us the same hearts and prayers, with the blessing which we trust they will have received, to our Spiritual Fathers on earth, and make them understand that neither they nor we can have rest—in a homely phrase, 'they will never hear the last of it,'—until the Church's liberty be asserted, and her doctrine vindicated. As occasion shall require, let us tell them, boldly or gently, that much as we may value the so-called protection of the State, we love the Truth of Christ and the souls of His redeemed, more; and that we earnestly hope the day will soon come, when they, our Bishops, shall discern what to us is palpable already, that the Church's temporal privileges and endowments would be well parted with, if need be, for

liberty to confirm her own Bishops, to declare her own doctrines, to enforce, vary, or repeal her own spiritual canons, and to grant or withhold participation in her own Sacraments. These are the four points, so to speak, of the Church's charter, in regard of which she is now grievously wronged; not, we will hope, by intention of any statesman or party, so much as by the unforeseen result of enactments made on other grounds. Still, the effect is what it is—oppression and profaneness—and now it seems as if we must add heresy also. For obtaining redress on these four points, we have sometimes wished that we could bind ourselves one to another, as in former days, by a holy Catholic League: if, indeed, we be not already bound enough by our baptismal vow of faith, and some of us by engagements at Ordination. At any rate, it is a work to which we cannot address ourselves too solemnly; there must be no hurry, no impatience; we may take a lesson from those who lie in ambush, from the deer-stalker, or the angler; determined to bide our time, be it never so tedious, but equally determined to lose no chance of striking.

We seem to have wandered very far from Mr. Monro, and, indeed, when we commenced this article, we had no thought of touching on such unquiet matters; but the truth is, they meet us at every turn; our spiritual, our pastoral, our parochial life hangs, as it were, in doubt before us, 'until this tyranny be overpast.' And with deep misgivings of conscience we perceive and acknowledge, that the whole danger and mischief is due, among other sins, to our own and our forefathers' neglect of parochial work—of parochial work on high sacramental principles, such as this volume is designed to recommend and exemplify. The remedy is obvious; but it is manifold, and we must have long patience for it. With patience, and the blessing of God, it cannot fail. So much the heavier will their burthen be, who shall mar it by fretfulness on the one hand, or by apathy on the other. Alas! it is what too many seem prepared to do. We wish them no severer penance, we can hardly wish them a more pointed and effective warning, than the careful perusal of Mr. Monro's work. May it be blessed in every way; by showing the discontented how much there is worth working for, and by stimulating the easy and self-satisfied, not just to the very exertions here detailed—for no two Clergymen, no two parishes are exactly like another:—but to faithful and religious industry, each in his own place, and in his own line! That course is the likeliest to tell upon the age, in preserving the outward framework of the English Church: and what is more, it is morally sure to tell upon Eternity, in saving souls.

ART. VIII.—1. *Report of Debate in the House of Commons, May 6, 1850, on Mr. Gladstone's Motion concerning the Colonial Church.*

2. *Report of Debate in the House of Lords, June 3, 1850, on the Bishop of London's Bill for amending the Court of Appeal in Ecclesiastical Matters.*

TWO important events, since the time when we last met our readers, have happened, in that struggle which we then said must commence between the Church and the Government. Two important debates have taken place on points connected with the established state of things on ecclesiastical matters; one in each house of parliament. A demand has been made distinctly and firmly on the part of the Church, and on Church grounds, for changes which all sides assume to be important ones; and important ones it cannot be denied they would be, important in their actual effects, and still more so in the principle which the concession would involve. The demand has been refused, as was to have been expected. But they show that Churchmen have begun in earnest to move; and further, while they show clearly the dispositions of the Whig ministry towards her, they also show the hollowness and inconsistency, as well as the undefined fear and perplexity, which accompany opposition to her claims.

The first of the debates alluded to, is the one on Mr. Gladstone's proposition in behalf of the Colonial Church. And though this but indirectly affected the Church at home, the place, and the character of the discussion, and the circumstance of its being the first move, gave to this debate a degree of interest equal, or even superior to that of another, which followed at a month's interval, in the House of Lords, on a matter which formally touched us at home more closely.

For it was the first step taken, towards regaining for the Church of England the power of speaking and acting for herself—the first public, practical step, as opposed to mere wishes or declarations or protests. The subject has now been mooted in the House of Commons. It has been brought forward seriously; not by some ardent parliamentary novice, but by men of experience and political importance, who are likely some day or other to have the government of the country in their hands. And it has been received seriously by the house—not more so

than its importance required, but more seriously than the first movements towards an important change are usually received by the House of Commons. The character of the debate, and still more, the division lists, disclosed no ordinary amount of interest in the question, and of strong opinion existing in the house; and the supporters of the claims of the Church, though a minority, had no reason to be ashamed of their show, either in point of argument or numbers. The immediate point in question had, it is true, no direct reference to the ecclesiastical system of this country. That which was asked for was, that the Church in the colonies, which has not the privileges, should be freed from the bondage, of the Church of the mother-country—a splendid bondage, it may be, at home, but bondage without the splendour abroad. Yet all parties felt, that the whole question of Church liberty was opened. The mother Church has been far more than repaid for all that she has done for the colonial Church, by the noble example, for which that Church has supplied a field, of episcopal faithfulness and zeal. She may, perhaps, have to thank the colonial Church, for the precedent of a freer, more elastic, and more effective constitution.

The debate of the 6th of May was a remarkable and instructive one in many respects. In the first place, it is not often that a debate takes place, in which the balance of argument was so indisputably on one side, as it was on this occasion with Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Page Wood, and Mr. Roundell Palmer. If we wished to point to a discussion, where the whole ingenuity of one side was employed in searching for various modes of expression to disguise the simple announcement, that they did not like a conclusion against which they could urge no valid reason, we should refer to this one. In various ways, according to their several characters and abilities, Mr. Gladstone's opponents struggled with the vexatious fact—that they had nothing to say—nothing at least that they could respectably say. Mr. Labouchere laboured under an unaccountable obtuseness—his clear head, and his memory on ecclesiastical law and the 'history of Christendom,' were both at fault. Sir George Grey was equally pertinacious in maintaining the incomprehensibility of Mr. Gladstone's proposal. It was indeed highly amusing to see, how both gentlemen, when they found themselves at a loss, turned instinctively to the hacknied charge against Mr. Gladstone of being obscure. The expedient had, it is true, as they must have felt, something of the flatness and tameness of a worn-out joke, and was singularly unhappy on this occasion, for Mr. Gladstone was particularly clear in what he proposed—but Mr. Labouchere affected quite to lose himself in trying to follow the perplexing consequences of the

motion, and Sir George Grey represented himself as in the difficulty of a man not knowing exactly what he is to vote upon—‘he was not sure that he understood the motion correctly, on account of its obscurity.’ On Mr. Roebuck, the effect of this ‘obscurity’ was quite oppressive—it tormented his clear and straightforward intellect—he staggered and reeled under the transformations and introversions suggested by Mr. Gladstone. ‘United Church of England and Ireland,’ ‘Colonial Church,’ ‘Convocation,’ ‘Establishment,’ ‘Jumpers,’ danced before his eyes in ever-changing union, separation, and substitution, and with apparently the same painful effect as the whirling of a thaumatrope would have on the brain of a man with a headache. Mr. Roebuck’s speech represented, probably intentionally, the confusion and disorder which, as he alleged, had been produced on his mind by Mr. Gladstone’s enigma. His rhetoric was of the mimetic kind. As the great musician represented the uproar of chaos, or the crawling of insects and swarming of flies, by strange combinations of dissonant sounds, so, probably, Mr. Roebuck, with refined and consummate art, struggled to convey the impression,—by studied incoherence, by bursts of impatience, by a servile imitation of that which he is known to hate most, the oratory of the platform,—of the hopeless entanglement of ideas into which he had been plunged by Mr. Gladstone. But much as we may admire the honourable speaker’s art, we feel that it is art still. He is only acting the baffled thinker; he has lashed himself into merely artificial, and very transparent paroxysms of bewilderment.

But the difficulty of understanding, which these gentlemen profess to have experienced, shows that they do not like the subject—this is the next point to be noticed in this debate. Set the privileges of the Church, as they are now, at the highest, there yet remains a balance of disabilities, restrictions, and special penalties against her, which no Whig statesman could dream of removing, unless compelled, and which yet are embarrassing enough in argument to the professed champions of religious liberty. The Church has certain very strong legal and moral rights, which she is, and long has been, debarred from exercising:—they have not hitherto been pressed; but when they are, they will be far more easily disposed of by force than by reason; and Whig leaders may well be excused for not wishing to be driven back on the rude measures of arbitrary government. Without distrusting the sincerity of their liberality, love of consistency would alone make this natural. So Sir George Grey uses that most convenient allegation of indistinctness against Mr. Gladstone, to understand him to propose for the Church new and excessive privileges. The Attorney General disposes

of the difficulty professionally; with the utmost politeness, he places his law at the service of the Church; and volunteers the comfortable intelligence that out of the United Kingdom *præmunire* is harmless—a piece of consolation, however, which after the doubts raised by Mr. Walpole's scepticism, it might not be quite safe to trust to, even on the assurance of the Attorney General. The suggestion no doubt marks the learned gentleman's good-nature; but it is very suspicious, as he must know, to meet claims against you with good-nature; and under such circumstances, the greater the good-nature, the greater the suspicion.

Lastly, the delicate and dexterous tactics of this debate are worth attention in another point of view. All indications given by the genuine instinct of parties are valuable. The dispositions manifested, and the tone of speaking adopted, disclose in what quarter spiritual power is felt to exist for practical purposes, and in whose hands it appears formidable to statesmen who do not wish to be interfered with by rival influences. Mr. Roebuck may affect to play at hide and seek with the subject of Mr. Gladstone's proposition; but his puzzle was, as we have suggested, a rhetorical figure. Underneath those various designations there lurked, as that clear-sighted and shrewd gentleman well knew, one and the same actually existing body, which as soon as he returned from his search for its definition in the clouds, he knew that he would find, waiting for him, and very much in his way, on the earth. Ingenious as was his counterfeited perplexity, it was not enough to hide either his knowledge or his feelings. Temper broke through its disguise, and condensed itself in some very clear sentences. Some of our liberal friends have been felicitously explicit, of late, in their sayings about the Church. They have put them in a bold shape, which impresses itself on the memory. We have been told of the 'sharp bit and tight rein, with which we are to be ridden.' In like manner, Mr. Roebuck has told us, in words which profoundly impressed the reporters, who have marked them as a sentence meant to be historical, what measure of liberty the Church may look for at his hands. The idea of 'Convocation sitting by the side of Parliament' acted like a sting on Mr. Roebuck; if the liberties of England had been threatened he could not have been more emphatic or oracular—'We have put down that, Sir,' said the hon. member, (between inverted commas,) 'and we do not intend that it shall ever be revived.'

From Mr. Roebuck, therefore, the Church has nothing to look for but all possible opposition—on Church questions, be it understood, his ordinary liberal principles, and his sense of justice are to be laid aside for the time. He hates the Church,

and therefore very naturally will not feel bound by any abstract liberal doctrines to do any thing for her. But though, as we have said, Mr. Roebuck acts very intelligibly, yet reason is reason; and he must be content to do without the benefits of reason on his side, in this question. Reason is here not partially but wholly, not doubtfully but clearly, on the side of the Church, and of those who are claiming for her, in reality, rights which in theory not even Mr. Roebuck would dare to deny her. And a debate which has exhibited this so clearly, is no unpromising beginning for those who think that the condition of the Church in its relations towards the civil power requires improvement, and who do not despair of that improvement.

The result of the debate in the Commons was a tolerably clear augury of what would happen in the Lords. Government was far too well satisfied with the Privy Council's decision to allow it to be so rudely treated as the Bishop of London's bill threatened to treat it. They had the power to defeat the bill, and of course they used their power. But having this power, they conceived themselves dispensed from the necessity of backing it with reason. That element of the feudal noble which lurks so ineradicably in the Whig aristocrat, that tyrant temper in the blood, to all that seems weak and yet thwarts him, broke forth through the customary blandness and amenity of the government spokesman. Lord Lansdowne was 'impetuous.' The veteran indifferentist, so easy and impartial about all creeds, the accomplished government respondent, so skilled in parliamentary fence, so self-possessed and so serene, whose smooth ambiguity no question is keen enough to pierce through, and whose intrepid assurance no case can look ill enough to disturb, was provoked by the Bishop of London's solemn and earnest appeal for justice, into a heat of temper which even he himself felt to have been out of character. But the old Whig tradition was contradicted and the old Whig instinct alarmed, when it was suggested that Church functions and powers were more than a convenient and elaborate fiction, and when Bishops, whose duties towards the Faith he had been accustomed to class with those of Knights of the Garter towards oppressed innocence, spoke of being anxious about doctrine. The old Whig antipathy boiled up. The man betrayed the statesman. It was not necessary to disclose such dislike, or exhibit so much passion. There were a hundred ways of dextrously eluding, or politely baffling the claim of the Church: it would have tasked the Lord President's practised ability but little to have done so. But he preferred to meet the appeal with a rude and peremptory refusal—the tone of a master towards intrusive inferiors. How dare the Church or the Bishops set the interest of their

doctrines against the threatened authority of the Privy Council? Had not Edward the Confessor long ago settled that such matters were no business of theirs? And was not the Queen's Supremacy a sufficient guarantee against all danger, and at any rate, her prerogative an incontrovertible reason, why they should hold their tongues? Such was the amount of argument deemed sufficient for the occasion; pointed and enforced by no sparing admixture of contemptuous sarcasm and angry warning. Such is the way in which the Whig government has received one of the most solemn and emphatic remonstrances ever made by the English Bishops. 'And the king of Egypt said unto them, 'Why do ye, Moses and Aaron, let the people from their works? 'get you unto your burdens . . . For they be idle; therefore 'they cry, let us go and sacrifice to the Lord our God. Let 'there be more work laid upon the men, that they may labour 'therein; and let them not regard vain words.'

Our thanks are due to them. Their language and tone bear the stamp of genuineness, and reveal their intentions. The Church knows now what she has to expect from them. When she asks that decisions, which every one sees to affect her most deeply, should be committed to her own authorities, she is told, that ecclesiastical usurpation must be repressed. If she dares to have an opinion about her own interest, different from that held by men who care nothing for her and are even aliens from her communion, she is warned to be on her good behaviour, to beware of 'betraying symptoms of aggression.' If she appeals to rights as ancient as her own origin, and as infeasible as the liberties of England—if she appeals to the known and acknowledged constitution of the realm, which speaks not less of the spirituality than of the crown and the temporality, she is lectured about 'giving rise to well-founded 'suspicions of an intention to encroach upon the functions and 'attributes of the other constituted powers of the State,' about 'assuming powers and privileges not clearly her own'—about 'seeking to be clothed with power which did not by law belong 'to her:' and, with gratuitous and irrelevant insult, the insinuation is introduced—we regret indeed that it should have come from Lord Carlisle,—that she 'is seeking to acquire pecuniary resources from the national funds.' Come what may, it will be a singular passage in the history of Lord John Russell's ministry, that having to defeat the attempt of the Church to be really the judge of its own doctrine, they could find no better argument to use against it than the most strained interpretation of the Prerogative—and that they were not ashamed to use it.

Meantime, their prejudices and their convenience are consulted for the present, for they have power in their hands:

but this does not change the state of the case. If the Church of England is a body, joined to, but yet not identical with the State; if it is a body of divine origin, with definite doctrines and functions peculiar to it—as the laws of England and the documents of the Church lay down, as the great mass of Churchmen have ever believed, and as no Whig minister has yet dared to deny in terms,—the claim so temperately and guardedly advanced in the Bishop of London's bill, is the plainest and undeniable reason. As in the Commons so in the Lords, common sense and common justice were clearly on the side of the Church; and with it were all those qualities which men wish to see on their own side—manly straightforwardness which persuades, deep and earnest feeling which touches, boldness which commands. They have been defeated: it is our own fault if they have been wasted. We start from a greater advantage than did the Roman Catholics and Dissenters. We start from a recognised position, a position which no one can deny to be distinctly given us by the Constitution of England, and which has never been forfeited. We start with a power on our side, which, if it once shows itself in earnest, no minister will venture to trifle with. And further, we have this additional advantage, that our opponents dare not use their *real* reasons, and have to fight under fictions and technicalities, which no one believes in, less than they themselves.

It is plain, it must be plain to Government itself, that these debates are the beginnings of a movement and not the end. The want which has hitherto pressed hard only on theological students and theorists is now felt to be a want by practical men also. Men of experience and weight in parliament, like Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Roundell Palmer in the Commons, and Lord Stanley, Lord Lyttelton, and Lord Redesdale in the Lords, have not made up their minds to speak out on this matter for nothing. When they thought it right to urge on Parliament the principles which they enunciated in the debates referred to above, it was not meant on their part for a demonstration or protest; they did so because they felt that the time was come to think of practical measures. And it is no ordinary occasion that could induce the English Bishops to come forward in a body almost unanimously, and commit themselves to a formal and earnest demand to Parliament for an immediate change in the law. It is not their fault to be precipitate, or their line to agitate, or their custom to act together. When they, not without caution and reserve, yet emphatically and publicly, respond to the feeling of a great body of the Clergy, and in the teeth of Government give that feeling expression in Parliament by a joint act, almost synodical in effect, if not in form, it is a sign that some-

thing much deeper and more serious than usual is working in the Church and its Clergy.

The question, therefore, is fairly and practically opened, Why should the English Church continue in the anomalous, indefensible, unreasonable condition in which past circumstances have left her? Why should she any longer be without a real and legitimate organ of government? Why, now that she is awakened to unprecedented activity, to a deeper sense of responsibility, and a greater desire to acknowledge it, should she be crippled and fettered by antiquated restrictions, for which no better reason is assigned than the conservatism and nervousness of such statesmen as Lord John Russell and Lord Lansdowne, or the bitter dislike of everything ecclesiastical on the part of such Liberals as Mr. Roebuck or Lord Grey.

The question is opened; and it is one to excite both the interest and anxiety of every Churchman;—his interest, because it suggests the hope—beyond that of the mere restoration of a venerable form, or of a more technical conformity to the models and practices of ancient times—the hope of bringing, in a way unknown and impossible hitherto, the feeling and good sense and earnestness and energy of the Church to bear with greater effect on her vast and increasing interests:—his anxiety, because every great hope is accompanied with great fear; and it is undeniable that greater liberty and greater power, as they are the condition of doing greater things, may also be the occasions of great mischief.

Thus the course of events invites the thoughts of Churchmen to the question of an ecclesiastical representative assembly; invites them most naturally. It cannot be said that mere love of theoretic consistency or systematic completeness has led them to feel and express the want of such an organ. The present emergencies, and the prospect of the future make it a practical question. And if following the leadings of the time, we beg our readers to turn their attention to it, it is not because we think a Synod, or a Convocation, or a tribunal of Bishops, will put an end to all our evils, or because we think it absolutely necessary to save our theological and ecclesiastical character, or because we think that the Church is powerless and without influence without it, or because we are ignorant of its attendant inconveniences, or because we hope to extort it as a demonstration, and without much delay or trouble from Parliament;—we cannot suggest any such extravagant hopes. The machinery of government in the Church is not exempt from the shortcomings and disappointing imperfections which we are familiar with in that of the State. Its good is mainly to be seen only in the long run, and on a large scale; the details are often questionable, often repulsive. Yet government is a

necessity, and becomes more necessary in proportion as the sphere of a body widens and gains importance, and its activity increases; in proportion also to its increasing self-reliance and freedom. We should be content to acquiesce in the anomaly, strange as it is, that the English Church, as has been remarked so often in the last few months, should be absolutely the one religious body in Christendom, Latin, Greek, Lutheran, or Reformed, under despotism as well as in free countries, which has no power of taking counsel or deciding on its own concerns—and that, in the land, pre-eminently, of representation, and of local and mutually independent powers: we should have been content to leave alone a mere anomaly—all our institutions are wisely full of them. But the only defence of anomalies is their practical advantage, or at least practical harmlessness; when they are practically mischievous, their theoretical unreasonableness loses its only shield, and provokes a double share of hostility. It is because the English Church, for its practical interests, wants a real, understood, lawful, authoritative government,—because it will want it every day more and more, and the necessities of our own day are no measure of those of a still more energetic and important future,—that we wish Churchmen to look fairly in the face the appearances and symptoms of the time, and consider whether, as the Church becomes more alive to her power, her duties, and her proper aims—finds new sources of strength in herself, and perhaps loses some of her privileges from the State,—it will not require opportunities of deliberation, and means of united action, of a very different kind from what it has now.

There has long prevailed a strong feeling against calling into activity the deliberative organs of the Church. We are speaking now, not of those who would dislike them as contributing to the real or apparent power of the Church, but of sincere Churchmen. The revival of Convocation is feared and deprecated by many, even of those who would wish their misgivings groundless, High-Churchmen as well as Low-Churchmen. In truth, the real reason why we have not Convocation at this moment, or something equivalent to it, is that the Church as a body has not wished to have it. Had she thought it for her advantage, it is idle to imagine that she could not have obtained or even extorted it from ministries, who have had to yield to the Roman Catholics and the Dissenters.

Doubtless such feelings have much to justify them. After so long an intermission, and chiefly *because* of so long an interruption, the resumption of powers which mainly impose responsibility and disturb ease, is both perilous and disagreeable. The intermission of Church assemblies, which has left us without the

habits and traditions which are so important in all deliberative or executive meetings, and has added to the imaginary as well as to the real difficulties of proper Church action now, is a legacy of our fathers; had they been less studious of their quiet, more content to submit to the necessary evils incident to all government, the Church might perhaps have passed through some stormy and even some painful passages; the records of the Synod might have exhibited the same mixed character as those of the English Parliament: but experience would have been accumulated; the practice, forms, and habits of an ecclesiastical assembly kept up; and we should not be finding ourselves—unaccustomed and strange to the very idea of such functions—at a loss about its rules, its sphere, its composition, its business; and from being so unused to it, and unqualified for its duties, shrinking from the thought of it. We may well complain of them for having left us so much at a disadvantage; but our children will pass judgment on us; and they will have a still stronger charge to make against us, if they find themselves impeded in what they might do well, but for our precedent supineness, or prejudice, or weakness.

The great and fundamental objection to such a resumption of Church power, is that it would give a fresh stimulus, and a more open and dangerous field, to that party spirit, which every Church in Christendom regards with such anxiety, and by various means according to its opportunities endeavours to keep down. Parties, it is urged, are a fact in the English Church; each claims it for itself, but in reality they divide it, and each has, not good reasons for its exclusive claim, but good right to its own ground of occupation. They work against one another now, but it is mainly by a rivalry in useful labour, and their bitterest form of controversy is confined to books. But confront them in an assembly invested with authority, and possessed of power—where votes, resolutions, and canons may save the trouble both of self-devotion and thought, and the passions of party will be whetted with the prospect of an easier and more complete gratification;—if the two parties are equally balanced, their struggle will be only the more obstinate and envenomed; if one conquers, it will be content with nothing short of the authoritative condemnation and expulsion of the other. You probably will have extermination—you are sure of war.

This, as it is not without its truth, and is far from irrelevant, would be conclusive against the expediency of calling such powers into exercise, if party strife were the only evil to be considered; or if the only or most effectual way to disarm or baffle its outbreaks were to hinder the Church from meeting in

Synod; or if it had not been found by experience, both in former times of the Church, and in the political history of modern times, that the conflict of parties was not an invincible hindrance to the march, and in the long run, the successful march of free and active powers of government. But if the existence of parties is the condition of all earnestness and all freedom—if they always have been in the Church, and in its separate branches,—if the art of man has in nothing tasked itself more severely, and at the same time more vainly than in attempting to get rid of them in the world,—and if in spite of this, Churches and nations have accepted, and with as much success as attends human things, the risks and duties of government,—if, as we know to be the case in practice, government can be carried on with effect and advantage, notwithstanding the utmost freedom possessed by most discordant and irreconcilable parties, and in spite of the difficulties which their mutual opposition raises,—the mere general fear of party spirit and even of its aggravation is not a sufficient reason against the resumption of its functions by the Church, if there are other evils against which this resumption would be the fitting remedy, or advantages which it is the only effectual way of gaining. The presence of an evil which is inseparable from all united action, is not in this case, any more than in so many others, a ground for depriving ourselves of benefits which are only to be obtained by such united action. We cannot get rid of parties by doing without a synod; we cannot get rid of their greatest evils; why should we be so afraid of them, as to let this fear tie our hands, and keep us back from aiming at positive improvements, called for by our circumstances, warranted by reason, by precedents, and now by the practical judgment of experienced men;—improvements with the full effect of which party-spirit may doubtless interfere, but which there is no reason to think that it will neutralize or turn to simple evil?

It may be true of a Church, as well as of a people, that it may not be ripe for liberty; that it may have to serve its apprenticeship in bondage. Yet it is equally true, that it will not become ripe by instinct; it must learn, and learn by its own efforts and trials. If the English State had waited till party-spirit had become extinct, before it began to bid for liberty, by making proof of it by degrees, we should not have yet learnt that parties may be more unmanageable and dangerous without Parliament than with it. If the Church of the Nicene century had been daunted into inactivity by the chance of Arianism being confirmed, or truth proscribed by a General Council, many scandals might perhaps have been avoided, much trouble saved, some disagreeable recollections and some apologies spared to the

Church historian ; but putting aside the question of doctrine, so momentous and critical, the influence and importance of the Church would have sunk, when she declined the responsibilities of action ; and that authority and command, which earnestness and boldness gave, and which mistakes, quite as keenly appreciated then as now, did not take away—the instrument which Providence was reserving for the greatest purposes—would have been lost to her, and lost to the barbarians she was to convert and civilize.

This objection may take another shape. With an authoritative organ, it says, you are in danger of authoritative change in the fundamental basis of the English Church ; possibly a series of such changes, either in one direction, or alternately backwards and forwards. The objection in this shape weighs with many, even more than the mere prospect of conflict. It is feared that with the power of speaking authoritatively in the name of the Church of England, would come the disposition to rule points in such a way as to alter the present position of the Church. And the possibility of this affects all sides equally—the change might be in the direction of laxity and toleration, or of stringency ; might reinforce or extenuate the old dogmatic phraseology ; might supply what is now indeterminate by decisions either from the schools of the middle ages or from those of Geneva and Germany. One such change, it is supposed, might be fatal to the faith of the English Church ; the continual liability to it must keep men always unsettled and anxious, and make all confidence in the guidance and stability of the Church impossible.

Accept this objection in its broad and literal form, and you come to this, that the Church cannot be trusted with her special office of preserving and declaring truth, because humanly speaking, there is a chance that she may use it wrongly. Councils, according to this, were a danger which she had no right to risk at any time, and the theory of a single oracle, inspired, or *accepted* as inspired, is the only thing which can support the Christian's faith. Into this theory of course we are not now going to enter. Meanwhile it is admitted on all hands, that when the great fundamental outlines of faith were clearly settled, it was done in Councils, and Synods. Councils, with all their attendant hazards to stability, to confidence, to the truth itself—hazards which were not less recognised in former days than they are now—were the means which the Church used from the first to carry on from age to age her tradition of faith—not the only means, but the more solemn and authoritative ones ; and even those who tremble at the dangers she incurred, thank her now for having incurred them.

The difficulty is one of that very numerous class which meet

us all through life, which it is impossible to deny or get rid of in theory, but which solve themselves in practice. The changes which actually happen are yet but a small part of those which seem inevitable. In creatures such as we are, who do change so much, who know so little around us and before us, and to whom time is ever bringing something new and unexpected, the marvel is that we can resist any change; we are continually altering our point of view, learning what we did not know, finding ourselves in circumstances which we had never imagined: yet, on the whole, individuals, and bodies of individuals pursue the path in which they started: opinions alter, laws are changed, yet constitutions last, and character is preserved. And if this seems like trusting to the chances of the natural course of society to preserve the Church, we answer that we are merely meeting an objection drawn from that course of society, to a particular measure. If the English Church is what we believe her to be, she is in keeping which secures her from any chances. But the argument against the exercise of her powers by the Church, drawn from the possibility of human variable-ness, may be answered by the experience of human constancy.

But, practically speaking, nobody can look for any great or fundamental change from an English synod. It would be for the present simply defensive. It would keep things where they are. It would resist those measures whose danger is that they threaten the very idea of a Church. It would exhibit the fact of the Church. It would give an emphatic contradiction to the assumption that it is in its external organization, a function of the State—a philosophy as regards individual belief and conscience. It would exhibit the Church as a body declaring itself the depositary and witness of a certain revealed truth in the world. It would undoubtedly restore English doctrine to that point of definiteness which it possessed before the decision of the Privy Council sacrificed the plainest meaning of words to a false idea of comprehension. Beyond that, it is in the highest degree improbable that it would at present move. But it would give and secure to all parties the ground, on which they have hitherto been content to work within the Church, however much they might think that she fell short of what she ought to be. It would preserve, preserve without mutilation, all that great body of positive truth which is embodied in the English formularies, while declining to add or remove, as it assuredly would decline at present, what one side would consider defective, or the other superfluous.

The office of such a Synod, if we may judge from examples elsewhere, will be, as far as concerns fundamental points affecting the present position of the English Church, to guard and maintain it. Changes are not what we need fear from it. Nor

are they what in the first instance we ought to wish for from it. We may wish many things amended, many things cleared up, many points settled; we are not wrong in wishing them, and are not disloyal to the English Church, in wishing for her what we think would be for her good, while we thankfully accept her as the witness to us and teacher of Christian truth. But it is not by looking forward to votes in her Synod that we can hope really and effectually to work upon her. It would be little good, even if we could do it, to pass decrees and theological decisions by a majority there, if we had not first gained over to our view the hearts and minds of her members. We believe that the English Church has a faith, not merely in her formularies, but in her living members; and therefore we wish for a Synod to declare and re-affirm it. But we do not suppose that she is prepared to return a dogmatic solution to any dogmatic doubt, or to enter on the consideration of every practical measure which might be suggested for her improvement. It is not to be wished for the present that her temper and attitude should be other than cautious and conservative. We are not yet prepared, and it is no wonder, for any very decided and strongly marked line of action. We are as yet, after the stagnation of the last century, but novices in the *science* of theology; and though we believe that an ill-informed and confused theology is no measure of the life and reality of faith, it must be a source of incalculable mischief when it finds its way into the formal proceedings of the Church; and the influence of the Church on men's ideas and sentiments, in its broad and permanent forms, is directed by crude and arbitrary prejudice, without knowledge, without thought, without practice, without either precision of method or largeness of view.

What we say then to the objection from the danger of change, is,—that sweeping change of any kind is highly improbable; that neither the present temper of the English Church, nor the general character of ecclesiastical assemblies warrants the expectation; that though we do look forward to the gradual disappearance of much that now seems to us alien to the true character of the English Church, it is not to the decisions or the impulse of a Synod, but to the progress of sounder and more accurate views, which seems to us to be going on visibly among Churchmen, that we look for improvement; while the danger of change in a wrong direction, of the Church being carried further away from the great universal standards of faith, or committed by her authoritative representatives to self-destructive acts of compliance and surrender, seems to us so little to be practically feared, that it cannot enter with any weight into the argument.

But even if the possibility of such misfortune were greater, it would not be conclusive against pressing for a representative organ for the Church. We wish for it, and think that it is greatly needed for the freedom and efficiency of the Church. But its importance and authority must not be over-stated. Great as this would be, it could not be, in every matter, equivalent to the Church which it would represent. A formal decision of such a body would necessarily settle most things, and be binding on the whole body of the Church; but it would not necessarily and at once settle all. Even with a Synod, it *might* become necessary to contend for the faith, as it has been without one. The decision of a Synod might compromise without finally overthrowing the Church, just as much as on the other hand it *might* arrest danger, and yet fail to save us.

It seems to be of importance, that at a time when the question of Synods is canvassed, their province and authority should not be mistaken. We must not look for too much from them; we must not over-estimate what they can do; we must not confound their formal and technical power with their real. The formal nature of their acts cannot be the only measure of their final weight and conclusiveness. The subject matter of their decisions—the state of opinion and belief in the national Church, and in the Church generally,—the state of parties—must all come in, in due measure. It cannot but be so in fact, whatever it may be in theory. They cannot speak with the same authority, and therefore with the same conclusiveness, on a detail of business and on a principle—on a principle of action, and on matter of doctrine; and for the plain reason that the whole Church delegates its authority necessarily in different measures, and does not the less reserve it on the more important or more difficult matters, because it confers it without reserve in the less important and clearer ones. Great questions may always be re-opened, as long as there is opinion and conviction to re-open them. It is a condition of our state here, an advantage as well as an inconvenience. The decision of a representative Council cannot of course but be of the utmost consequence; it may compromise, incalculably entangle, or incalculably assist the Church; but the approbation and sympathy of the Church as a body, must ratify the act of its representatives, and give it a real force which it only has formally and technically in itself, before it can be taken as the final and deliberate expression of the Church's sentiment and will. If this seems too indeterminate to be practical, we ask those who think so, if they can fairly make out that the faith was established in any more technical and definite way in the fourth century.

The whole history of that time goes most strongly against the assumption of the *decisiveness*, once for all, of single acts even of the representatives of the whole Church. Important of course they cannot but be; decisive too, they *may* be; but they *may* only prove to be steps, not conclusions. And they do not always bear the evidence of their character on their face. They are not necessarily decisive in fact, because decisive in their form. Fifty years were then not too much to clear up the faith of the Church on the most vital point of religion; fifty years, marked throughout their course by formal acts of the Church, which appeared, at the moment, final and irrevocable. The contest between heresy and the faith was not settled, but begun at Nicæa. Council after council succeeded. Some of them at the moment must have appeared not a whit less imposing, less august, less regular, less authoritative. The Church—not parts of it only, but the whole, might have seemed at the time as much and as fairly represented by Ariminum and Seleucia, as by Nicæa. She seemed committed to them at the time; committed by formal acts, done by those who seemed to have the right to speak in her name. Why was not her faith lost? Because her faith depended not merely on her representatives, but her members. Time was necessary to make this plain, but time, the clearer up of many doubts, did show it. Councils and their acts were but the steps and movements in the great warfare, (very important, for each might be the decisive one;) but how the battle had really been going, which of these various acts of her representatives really had expressed the mind of the Church, time was required to show, time only did show. The Nicene Council was, in appearance, but the watchword of a party, and a beaten party, till the very close of the century to which now it gives its name; till the Church at length showed indubitably, that the bishops of Nicæa, and not those of Ariminum, had truly caught its mind, and interpreted its faith, and gave to the Nicene Creed the preeminence which it has since held, among all other decisions of the Church.

We appeal to this extreme instance, as a practical example of the way in which, as a matter of fact, a great question was settled in the Church. Councils alone did not settle it. Separate decisions, beyond which at the moment there was no appeal, did not settle it. The judgment of individual bishops, great by position or reputation,—or their practical measures of excommunication, or restoration to communion, did not settle it. The energetic interference of the state did not settle it. All these influences came in, and that on both sides; but they were only the machinery by which the truth was ventilated and sifted, the

means of testing and ascertaining the real object matter of the living faith of the Church. Each side stated its belief as that of the Church; each successively with great appearance of authority. But it was not till gradually, insensibly, in a way which history is not observant enough to record, nor philosophy subtle enough to analyse, the belief of the Christian world cleared itself up, and showed itself with a distinctness not to be mistaken, that it was seen which was right. The question *was* settled; settled not without Councils, and their formal acts and decisions; but settled by formal acts, which were elevated above a host of others of the same character, and invested with a far higher than a merely formal authority, by the acceptance of them as genuine, accurate, and appropriate expressions of its common and immemorial faith, by the universal body of the Catholic Church.

What then, it will be said, is a Synod wanted for, if not to rule points of faith? You admit the possible practical danger from party violence; and on the other hand, the best thing you hope for it is, that it will not be forward in meddling with theological difficulties; that is, that it will decline the very business of a Synod.

We put the objection in its extreme form; because a synodical decision of some questions of doctrine must of course be wished for by all who wish for a Synod. We want a Synod to restore to us ground, of which we have been unfairly and indirectly deprived. It has been hitherto held in the Church, that the Church has and teaches definite doctrines on *some* points, and that she has standards and tests to which to refer those doctrines. She allows, indeed, of latitude of opinion, of open questions; but all questions are not open because some are. We have hitherto believed, with the great mass of Churchmen, that some great points were not open questions with her. It has recently been asserted, not with her authority, but yet with high legal authority, that they are. This assertion, so far as it is of weight, alters the ground of any man calling himself a Churchman in England; and authorizes a principle, that not merely *some*, but *any* doctrines, enunciated in her formularies, may be open questions; for the principle of free interpretation, which all must admit to a certain extent, was applied to an extreme case, and pushed to its utmost length. If the Church is to hold her old ground, she cannot but re-assert, as soon as she has the opportunity, what the Privy Council has gone out of its way to question. If she does not,—if, having the opportunity, she decline to re-assert her old definite statement, it can hardly be denied that so far she has changed her ground. It would be declining to bear out the belief of those who have hitherto held and said

that on great points, like the Sacraments, she had a definite meaning in her statements. It would be doing more than agreeing to tolerate those who dissent from that meaning; it would be taking away the necessity of toleration, by taking away all occasion of dissent.

A Synod, we should hope, would undoubtedly restore things to where they were, before the late decision; would warrant Churchmen in saying, as they have said hitherto, and still believe, that the Church has doctrines; that on certain questions, and those questions affecting the very foundations of Christian religion, as it has been understood and believed from the first, her language is plainly and distinctly on one side, and not on the other. Less than that a Synod could not do. But it might be of the greatest use to the Church, without at present doing more, in the way of theological definition.

In the first place, a beginning is wanted for real Church government. We are now without it, or, at any rate, have it in such an incomplete, incoherent, confused form, that though we are familiar with the action of separate powers, we scarcely have the idea or feeling of Ecclesiastical government. The first sittings of a Synod would not be wasted, however little they might do or produce in themselves, if they trained and prepared an organ which might rise to greater activity and importance when its time for action arrived—as arrive it surely will, if a long future awaits the Church, and all it may hope to achieve and to be is not measured by its present limits of influence and usefulness. It is time to think of preparing for greater things, even though we have little chance of seeing them.

In the next place, there are a number of practical objects, which are now in the hands of bodies, not altogether unauthorized by the Church, but whose authority falls far short of that which would be possessed by a body which duly represented the whole Church. Such bodies have been useful in preparing for it, nor would they necessarily be superseded by it, though it might lend them new influence and new dignity. Missions, education, the spread of religion and its maintenance at home, the employment and direction of an increased body of Clergy, are all matters in greatness and importance belonging to the whole Church; and in which the efforts now made might receive a new impulse, and incalculable assistance from an organ which represented it.

This was well urged by Mr. Roundell Palmer:—

‘Other religious bodies possessed the power of self-expansion; the Church alone did not possess it. She, it appeared, was to be kept in the same state in which she was placed two hundred years ago. It was preposterous to suppose that Parliament would enter into the consideration of spiritual questions; and, therefore, to say that Parliament would do

what was wanted by the Church was equivalent to saying that it would not be done at all. The question then arose—it being impossible for Parliament to make such regulations as might be necessary from time to time, in order to adapt the circumstances of the Church to the wants of the Church and the society in which it was placed—was the Church to be for ever maintained, with respect to all matters affecting her spiritual efficiency, in precisely the same state in which she had stood for centuries past? Nothing had contributed so much to the increase of vice and ignorance throughout the country as the growing up of large masses of population for whose spiritual instruction no provision had been made, in consequence of there being no body in active operation capable of taking the measures which were necessary to supply the spiritual destitution of the people. . . . Let it not be supposed that the absence of such an assembly was a matter of no practical importance. Since the sittings of the Convocation had been suspended, we had seen the rise of the Wesleyans—a body founded by men of the purest motives and highest zeal, who, if not altogether dissenting from the Church, were, upon the whole, more connected with Dissenters than with the Church; and became so, because the Church had no means of taking counsel in that emergency, and enlisting their zeal in her service. Since the suspension of the Convocation differences had sprung up amongst Churchmen, which at the beginning might have been easily moderated, but which had now assumed a formidable aspect, and threatened consequences which alarmed every friend of the Church. The enemies of the Church were not opposed as they ought to be, because the Church did not possess the power of developing itself in a natural way in accordance with the spirit of the constitution.'

If it is said that such an organ will not work, we ask, why less in England than in other countries? It has worked elsewhere, in circumstances differing widely among themselves. The French Church had its General Assembly of the Clergy, which lasted all through the despotic times of the old monarchy down to the Revolution; a body with great and various functions, which met at stated times, and transacted business on all matters relating to the interests of the Church, with the same regularity and effect as any other assembly which lasted so long. Such an organ worked in despotic and Roman Catholic France; it has worked in Whig and Presbyterian Scotland. It works now in republican America, in that branch of the Church which is an offshoot of our own. Why should it be less useful, why should it be less manageable in England?

But we will not shrink from saying, that the great reason why we desire to see a Synod, is that we want it as a token and symbol of the independence of the Church; we want it as an acknowledged and visible counterpoise to the power of Government.

We are not among those, who demand an exclusion of the temporal power from the concerns of the Church. Those who make the demand ought first to be satisfied, that with a Church possessing real power and influence, such exclusion is in the nature of things possible—that it is conceivable that the supreme civil power should allow a spiritual power, which is

more than a mere form, to expand and act, without claiming, and if claiming, without enforcing the claim, to have some practical control over such an important social element. They ought to be satisfied whether, *in fact*, the Church has ever gained and held a great position without becoming thereby subject to the action upon itself of the temporal government, restraining very materially the exercise even of the Church's proper spiritual functions; and whether this interference and control has not been in exact proportion to the importance and energy of the Church, except during those brief and dubious periods, the precursors of a long and heavy retribution, when the Church, to save its own rights, itself usurped those of others. In England, certainly, the Church, whether in communion with the Pope, or independent of him, never did stand free from the State; and except working concurrently with the State, it could not be what the Church of England ever has been since the Norman Conquest. But it is one thing for the Church to work with the temporal power—another to be merged in it. It is one thing for Government to have great rights of interference in the Church, or for Parliament to legislate largely for her, and claim to be consulted on her affairs, as being the supreme guardian of all great social interests—and another, for Government and Parliament to ignore all rights, all powers, all freedom of opinion and action in the Church, but their own. And we would leave it to every fair man to say, whether the denial of all independent Church rights is not involved in the language of the Government in the recent debates, and whether such a denial is not absolutely necessary to justify it.

In a question of doctrine, in a matter to herself of the deepest interest, and in which it is no wrong to Lord Lansdowne and his colleagues to say, that they feel very small interest, they have peremptorily refused to leave the decision in the hands of her authorities. They have peremptorily refused the proposal of her Bishops, to give them a modified and restrained control over decisions affecting doctrine. They have peremptorily refused even to see whether a compromise could be effected between this most moderate and modest proposal, and their own objections. They have absolutely and imperiously rejected a claim which, on the supposition of the Church having any inherent authority and power at all, falls short of what is reasonable by asking so little. They have rejected it as if it was an unheard-of and unprecedented thing in this country, for ecclesiastical matters to be dealt with by ecclesiastical persons; as if it were actually an usurpation on the part of the Church to take them out of the hands of the ordinary lay tribunals—to ask for them for herself; and they have thrown back the conciliatory scheme proposed in the faces of its proposers, in a spirit and in

terms deserved only by those who have cast some great indignity on the Crown, or have wantonly provoked mischief, or have invaded the great conventions and understandings of society; with a scornful and impatient bitterness, which scarcely took the trouble to veil itself under the ordinary disguises of public courtesy; but which was at the same time a significant indication of the consciousness, the uneasy consciousness of that Church power, and those Church rights, which were outwardly so gravely ignored.

We make bold to say that the principle involved in this ministerial doctrine is new in the constitution of England. It has, indeed, been long threatening us; it was to be expected that sooner or later it would make its way to the surface. And now it has done so, in too formal and positive a manner to be passed over without contradiction, by those who hold that the Church has authority of its own which it does not hold of the civil power. But the assertion that the Church has no such authority is contradicted by all that has gone before in our own history.

We again quote from Mr. Palmer's argument:—

'By constitutional law, at this moment, the Church of England had as much right to have her spiritual necessities considered by the Bishops and Clergy in convocation, as the citizens of the state had a right to have temporal matters considered in that house. Every important change made at the Reformation, and since the Reformation, in the doctrine and discipline of the Church had been effected by the Convocation and Parliament—that was to say, by the Parliament acting on the previous resolutions of the Convocation and the crown. By the statute of Henry VIII., defining the royal prerogative in matters ecclesiastical, it was laid down that the constitution of England had always been a combination of temporality and spirituality, and the latter was represented by Convocation. When the Book of Common Prayer was revised, in the reign of Charles II., it was stated in the preface that it was the duty of the Convocation, as often as necessary, to debate matters connected with the spiritual welfare of the Church of England. The constitutional rule respecting the Convocation continued in active operation until the reign of George I., when it was suspended under these circumstances:—The minister of the day appointed a person to be a bishop who did not hold the doctrines of the Church. Bishop Hoadley was a man eminent for his learning and ability; but it was a fact now well ascertained that he belonged to that class of persons called Unitarians. The Convocation was about to address the crown on the subject; but the crown suspended the sittings of that body. By that act the crown did to the Church of England what Charles I. attempted to do to the state when he dissolved Parliament after Parliament, and prevented the legislature meeting for the despatch of business. The law still stood as it formerly did, and the Convocation ought to assemble, and did in point of form assemble with every Parliament.'

But with such a doctrine, announced by Government as that on which they are acting in respect of the Church, it surely is not too much to say,—that the Church requires safeguards and securities which have hitherto been, we cannot say unnecessary, but not indispensable. No one can doubt the great and

increasing power of Government in this country. But the very reason why it is so powerful—more really powerful even than that of the most despotic state—is that we are not afraid of it. There is no cause to be jealous—no cause to be distrustful and on our guard. Each great element of power in England which lends Government its strength does so without misgiving, because it conceives that it has its security against the pressure on itself singly of those combined forces to which it has contributed. But without some real security, no class or interest in England could long cope with that organized and central power, which is the result of the co-operation of the rest, or struggle against its absorbing tendencies. Never was there a time when Government was more formidable to any body of its subjects, which claiming rights and functions of their own have not a legal and recognised organ of their power and their wishes.

And such the Church has not. Even her Episcopate has no collective character. There is no body, which, when the interests of the Church are threatened, can claim to speak in the name and with the authority of the Church, and remonstrate or negotiate with Government; none which can pretend to represent the Church, with even that informal but recognised character possessed by a Manchester chamber of commerce, or a committee of the Stock Exchange. Doubtless it is highly convenient very often to ministers that there should not be such a body; but it is no longer safe for the Church.

It would seem to be against the very elementary rules of mere political wisdom that such a body should be recognised in the State, and yet have no public and recognised representation. It cannot be wholesome that there should be such a real power in the Church—an acknowledged power, surrounded by all the marks of public reverence, and working actively and continually throughout society, in its highest as well as its lowest spheres; and yet that this great power should be cut off, by the prejudices or the jealousy of Government, from all legal and authorized modes of expressing its sentiments and regulating its concerns, and should be forced to make its feelings and its power felt in all sorts of irregular and private expedients for union and concentration. *There* is the power; *there* are its sentiments and its plans; Government cannot get rid of them at the moment; it is very sanguine if it hopes to outlive them. It ought, in the history of the last eventful half century, to have learnt the inconvenience and the peril of driving a legitimate and undeniable power to have recourse to the machinery, and tempting it to admit the temper which ought to be reserved for faction.

But however this be, the Church, though it has long allowed its right to representation to be in abeyance, has

not lost its corporate character; it has not yet lost, in fact or legally, those special attributes and features which it had before and at the Reformation, and which, up to the present time, have given it its unity, its identity, its distinctness. Claiming to be the continuation of the Church of the first times, the inheritor, witness, and transmitter of the truths which that Church received and handed down, she is still recognised, *as such*, by the law and constitution of England. Further, the Church is, in fact, in itself a real, living, organized body, with its own spirit, its own ideas, its own rules of judging, and native modes of thought and feeling, as well as its own formularies, defined functions, and hierarchy of offices. Theory has tried to identify it with the civil state—policy has tried to entangle and fuse it with civil government, like the army or the law; but it has resisted stubbornly: it remains distinct, and popular feeling and language attest, while they condemn, and seek to overcome its obstinate maintenance of its separate and independent character. It is more than a sect, for its traditions and history are inseparable from those of the English realm, and it still commands the widest, and, if not the most clamorous, yet the deepest sympathies of the English people: yet it acknowledges an origin higher and more ancient than theirs, and possesses a law and a creed more definite in its limits and its requirements than all of them are willing or are compelled to submit to. Thus it falls short of the nation; yet in the nation it is a great and recognised power.

It has a right therefore, a constitutional right, to claim the securities necessary for its independence. It has a right, in times of change, when every year brings its crisis and its movement, to demand that it alone should not be condemned to the results of a stationary and unalterable position. It has a right to claim that its inherent authority and functions should be placed out of the reach of the prejudices or the designs of an ephemeral ministry. It has a right to claim from the equity and good sense of Englishmen, that they should not apply to its concerns a theory of government which it is their most common and proudest boast to have exploded for themselves; and that, for the honour of English statesmanship, they should discountenance and disavow the political hypocrisy of a party which, after having arrogated to itself, as its inherited glory, and characteristic badge, the limitation of arbitrary prerogative, has not been ashamed to rest its opposition to the Church on a doctrine about the prerogative more extreme than that of the Tudor and Stuart crown lawyers.

We ask for a Synod, then,—and we use the word without stopping to define it, for any assembly which should be recognised as holding a commission from the Church to act for her,—

because it appears to be high time to make preparations for the future,—when it is inconceivable that the Church, if it expands as it is doing, should be able to dispense with some far more real government than it has now :—because, in the practical business of the Church, and in bringing its influence to bear on the various important objects of the time, such an organ, representing the authority of the Church, and exhibiting its powers united and combined, would add greatly to its force and efficiency :—and lastly, because, amid the pressure of rapid and continual change, it is not safe for the Church to be without a standing proof and memorial of her inherent authority, and an acknowledged legal guarantee of the position which she has hitherto held among the constituted powers of England ; because it is fair that those who really represent her spirit should have more direct influence over her course of action ; and that she should not be left—alone among the great interests of the country—to be taken care of solely by those who may be in the highest degree alien from her genius, and hostile to her great principles and purposes, and who at least, from the nature of their absorbing cares, cannot be expected to have more than a limited sympathy for her, or to give her interests more than a subordinate place in their thoughts. In such an age of activity and forethought, no one can reasonably ask that she should be left to such chances as these.

We must now leave the subject, and we earnestly commend it to the thoughts of Churchmen. We beg of them to reflect seriously whether such an organ is not become necessary ; and if so, to consider in what form it may best suit our condition, and meet our wants. We cannot think that they are absolutely bound to the imitation of former models, though it may be convenient or necessary to start from them. But whatever be the form of it, it is time for them to make up their minds, as they are accustomed to do on practical matters, on the necessity of it in *some* form. If it can be dispensed with, without risk to the Church, and unfairness to our successors and our children, there is little in the thing itself to make it an object of desire. But if it cannot, let not the preliminary difficulties, or the attending inconveniences, or even hazards, deter us from attempting what is right and just. If it is part of our trial, and of the struggle to which we are called, let us accept it with an even and resolute mind ; not forgetting the inevitable conditions of all human effort and action, its blots and flaws, its disappointments and embarrassments, its wearisome delays. There is always the temptation, proportionate to the zeal and earnestness with which a cause is embraced, to isolate it from its real connexion with the tangled confusion of the rest of human affairs, to wish to labour for it in a higher sphere, to detach it from all that clogs, and all that

lowers it. We want, when pursuing a great purpose, to get rid of the conditions of ordinary ones ; we want to get rid of time ; we want to get rid of party ; we want to get rid of the vulgarity of the conflict, of the pain of its uncertainty ; as if in attempting something noble and heavenly in its end, we deserved to be something more than men. This, if we desire to succeed, we must restrain. Besides having perseverance, energy, and courage, we must know both how to wait without impatience, and how to fail without despair. On these terms the Church has kept up her struggle, her chequered, yet real and manifold struggle, with the spirit of the world—on these terms and no other. On these terms we also may do good and effectual work in our day ; not, indeed, satisfy all our aspirations, or achieve the perfect work which we yearn after, but do our part in the span which is allotted to us, and leave behind us something, faulty indeed and defective as it is sure to be, yet genuine, and having a principle of life ; something which shall last.

For ourselves, we can only say, that we are prepared for these terms. No power in this country can command results just when it wishes : it must bide its time, it must wait for its opportunities. We are aware that we have powerful influences against us—and that this must add to the discomfort, the tediousness, nay, and the uncertainty of the struggle. But we feel so convinced of the deep strength of the English Church, and of the means at her disposal for influencing opinion, if she once resolves on it, that we cannot, for our own part, think of suiting the convenience of either of our antagonists, by relinquishing that vantage ground, which, if we think lightly of, they do not. We will not play the game of the liberals, by taking up,—at a time when the real feeling of the Church has been more unequivocally evinced, and in a more remarkable way than it has been for generations,—by taking up, at just this time, the cry, that the Church has betrayed her faith and forfeited her birthright. It is indeed one way of declining the responsibility of combatting a real danger, to choose to interpret it as a token of dissolution, and proof of apostasy. Men make very free to tell us, what position the English Church holds in the sight of Almighty God, in consequence of Lord Langdale's judgment, and find no more difficulty in solving such a problem than in pronouncing on the fact of physical death, or local change. We must leave such persons to the positiveness which they require, and which they think themselves warranted in assuming. Meanwhile, they would do well to reflect on something which they may *see*. It would be worth their while to give a thought to what the English Church actually is in this lower world. It has been, and is, as a matter of fact, the great and real barrier between Christianity and unbelief in England. If ever any Church has fulfilled that distinc-

tive office of the Church,—to be a standing witness of religion, to keep up the tradition and belief of it amid the manifold dangers, intellectual and moral, of human society—to keep it up on a great scale, and with great influence—to secure for it, even among the many, attachment and respect,—the English Church has done so. Put at the highest what the Church abroad has done in leavening the population in general with religion, the English Church has not done less; and it has done so, in a manner and to an extent absolutely unexampled in any nation of equal freedom and equal intellectual culture. And those who complain of the vagueness and indecision of English popular dogmatism, compared with that of the Latin Church, ought, in the first place, to set the strength and permanence of the great outlines against the faintness of the details; and in the second, to set against that foreign precision of doctrine the price at which it has been bought,—both of corrupt additions, defended only because now inseparable from it, and of alienation of intellect from religion, and open abandonment of all faith, on a scale never yet seen in England.

There must be something much more serious and conclusive than anything that has yet happened, or as yet threatens to happen, to make us think that this is no longer the work and mission of the English Church—that no communion can rightfully, or can successfully preach the Gospel in England, but one which, great and admirable as it has shown itself in many points, on its own ground, has here, in spite of individual efforts and individual exceptions, invariably degenerated in its noblest features, and displayed in exaggerated forms those which are most uncongenial and repulsive—which, though claiming exclusively all that is lofty, and pure, and glorious in religion, has escaped none of the coarseness, or the childishness, or the unscrupulousness, or the intriguing and rancorous sectarianism, which it has been its wont to charge on Protestantism. We cannot think that we are yet summoned to this—to leave the Catholic and Apostolic traditions of our forefathers in the sole keeping of such a body as the branch of the Roman Communion in England has as yet shown itself to be—to leave English people to choose between the Christianity of Rome, with its extravagant dogmatism and ostentatiously anti-national spirit, or that liberal philosophy, which may hold Christianity in suspension in minds of high tone and religious training, but can be intelligible to the masses only as broad infidelity. Conscience has of late been freely appealed to, sincerely we doubt not, whether well or ill-informed. For ourselves, we cannot find it in our consciences, to leave the truth which God has entrusted to us, to encounter such risks, without a clearer and more commanding call than we have yet received. We cannot so betray the ancient faith in England.

NOTICES.

Mr. Grinfield has put forth a very spirited 'Apology for the Septuagint,' (Pickering,) vindicating its claims to Biblical and Canonical authority, and we trust that his work will do much to remove the undue prejudice which commonly exists against the LXX. Version, and to re-instate it in the honourable position which it once enjoyed in the Western, and has never lost in the Eastern, Church. Such a course would prove a salutary check to German Biblical science, which, as a general rule, pays little or no regard to the LXX., and consequently sets at nought such allusions made by the New Testament writers to the Old Scriptures, as are based exclusively on that version. This and many other considerations are eloquently and persuasively urged by Mr. Grinfield, who has thus placed, so to speak, a graceful capital upon the goodly structure of his former works in connexion with the Septuagint. Many of his positions, doubtless, call for careful consideration and discussion; and this, we trust, they will meet with. But in the main we are disposed to acquiesce in them. One suggestion he has thrown out, which we think important, and well worthy of adoption—viz. that an English New Testament should be brought out, in which all the citations from the LXX. should be printed in italics, or otherwise indicated. This would enable the English reader to estimate the amount of LXX. matter contained in the New Testament. And if, in addition to this, the Old Testament were printed with a correct translation from the LXX. of all such passages as are quoted or referred to in the New Testament, the same English reader would have before him what now he has not, that form of the Bible (as far as regards these passages) under which the writers of the New Testament referred to it.—Mr. Grinfield has also published a 'Letter to Dr. Wiseman' (Pickering) remonstrating against the retention in the LXX. of the undoubtedly spurious verse in Deuteronomy, prohibiting marriage with a wife's sister. He is simply taking critical ground, and every one must agree with him, that however firmly they may believe that union to be implicitly forbidden in Holy Scripture, nothing can justify the foisting in of an explicit prohibition of it. One point of some critical interest is involved in the question. The spurious verse in question rests on the authority of the Vatican MS., and unless it shall appear that it has been inserted there by a later hand, it must tend to lower, in no small degree, the estimation in which that great rival of the Alexandrine has always been held.

'Catechetical Lessons,' (J. H. Parker.) The Clergy of S. Barnabas, Kensington, have published two most useful little helps to the Clergy in the important work of catechising. The first contains the Apostles' Creed, and the second the Ten Commandments, to be followed up by the other divisions of the Catechism. Doctrinal points are well brought forward, a numerous selection of texts judiciously chosen, and the whole plan adopted stands the test of general application.

'An Elementary Course of Geology, Mineralogy,' &c. by David T. Ansted, M.A. (Van Voorst.) The subjects embraced in this book have hitherto been difficult of access in a concise and simple form. Too great

elaborateness of detail, or too great mixture of speculation have accompanied geology; and its plain obvious truths, with their practical bearing on those branches of knowledge essential to all education, have consequently been shut out from many, anxious to keep pace with advancing science. This want is admirably supplied by the present work, which is sound, accurate, and comprehensive. It is invaluable as the completion of school geography, interesting to all elementary students of natural science, and useful for reference with all who cannot possess a numerous and well-assorted scientific library. Mr. Ansted's former works, though inferior to this in design, yet have established his literary and scientific qualifications for undertaking the labour so well and ably completed.

'A Physician's Holiday, or, Month in Switzerland,' by John Forbes, M.D. (Murray.) A hasty tour and off-hand description of places, things, and people. No one subject is dwelt on for above a few lines, but as any great profundity is thus avoided, so also is weariness of style. This book is partly a guide and partly a substitute for real travel, in the same manner that the overland route, or any other quick succession of pictures, may be so considered. As in most hasty productions, the writer's peculiar line of thought assumes an unfair prominence, and medical subjects too often cross his Alpine path. His notices of the Romish Church are commonplace, but inoffensive, and it is well that the theoretical illusion of Romanism should be checked by the evidence of the sight; for on many sides we are reminded that the most Protestant travellers do not much exaggerate the practical evils of that Church in its living actual character.

'An Essay on the Origin and Development of Window Tracery,' by E. A. Freeman, M.A. (J. H. Parker.) An interesting inquiry into a part of ecclesiastical art, which in these higher latitudes is of the most obvious importance. This is another wholesome effort to unravel the principles as well as copy the models of old times. The development of one kind of window into another through every age, is an admirable subject for an essay, and the result is worthy of its importance. The illustrations are numerous and well-selected.

'The Church School-master,' by the Rev. Sanderson Robins, M.A. (Rivingtons,) is an earnest, sensible, and practical work on Education, well suited to the present crisis, without any apparent direct reference thereto. It is evidently the result of long and intimate acquaintance with the working of parochial Schools, and at the same time abounds in maxims and principles affecting all who are concerned with education in any form. The author's style is simple and unaffected, but not the less forcible, and there is an earnest and authoritative tone throughout, which causes all his suggestions to carry conviction with them. The work has the great merit of being at once liberal and sound, earnest and sober, and the writer's powers of condensation have compressed into a small 12mo. volume the matter of a complete and standard manual of the subject.

'A Critical History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece,' by William Mure. (Longman.) Colonel Mure's work has excited considerable expectations among scholars, and we think that those expectations are fulfilled. It is probably the best book that has hitherto appeared upon

the subject, and will supersede Müller, who, with many excellences, is wanting in good sense, and often wanders beyond the evidence. The learning is great and the style good; and in the latter respect, this book is strongly contrasted with the equally learned, and perhaps more able work of Mr. Grote. The length is the worst part of this, as of so many good books in the present day. Three good sized octavo volumes have not brought the subject down to Pindar. We shall be glad when Colonel Mure reaches the dramatic poets; but if he treats them on the same scale as he has treated the minor lyric poets, his voluminousness will exceed all bounds. The great point of interest, and the strong point also in the present volumes, is the Homeric question, which we think Colonel Mure may be said to have almost set at rest. We have always been firmly convinced ourselves of the single authorship of the *Iliad*, and therefore, perhaps, we are more easily satisfied than a Wolfian sceptic would be, of the validity of arguments in favour of that hypothesis; but to us it appears that the theory which makes the *Iliad* to be a collection of ballads by separate authors is laid in the dust for ever. The objections taken by Lachmann and others on the ground of discrepancies and incongruities in different parts of the poem, never seemed to us to weigh a feather against the clear unity of design, uniformity of genius, and substantial development of character. Such as they are, however, Colonel Mure deals with them very successfully, and shows, that even if such incongruities are more numerous in Homer than in other poets, the only inference to be drawn is, that Homer was more regardless than other poets of minute accuracies of detail, and more exclusively careful of the general poetical effect. A direct confirmation is added by an ingenious observation of certain recurrences of thought or expression, too minute to be the result of imitation, and still too marked to be fortuitous; and an indirect confirmation, which, however, is the best of all, results from a general analysis of the poetical method, phraseology, characters, and ethics of Homer, which is performed with great ability. Another point is made against the Wolfian party, by showing the unfairness of which they have been guilty in always beginning with the *Iliad*, in which the incongruities are more numerous, and a plurality of authors more conceivable, instead of considering the support which the unity of the *Odyssey* lends in every way to that of the *Iliad*. But for our own parts we should be almost content to rest the unity of either poem on the single argument which results from the pervading uniformity of transcendent genius. Is it likely that among all the sons of men the first place in poetry should be due to Shakspeare, the second to a dozen Homers?

Mr. Henry Hughes, a London Clergyman, has published a defence of Lord Lansdowne and 'the Government Scheme of Education.' It is published, which surprised us, by the Messrs. Rivington. We think that Mr. Hughes has earned, what we do not say that he had in view, 'the substantial gratitude,' as was lately said in Mr. Roebuck's case, 'of Her Majesty's Government.' Anyhow, Mr. Hughes' little pamphlet, and Mr. Dawes' *preferment, synchronize*.

'Goodsir's Arctic Voyage' (Van Voorst) has only its very creditable object, a contribution towards the search after Sir John Franklin, to recommend it. Though a manly, unaffected narrative, it is destitute of in-

formation—an ingredient which we are constrained to think necessary to all books. We regret to say this, because we have a very distinct prejudice in favour of all Mr. Van Voorst's publications.

A great religious poem has appeared; its author is George Marsland; its publisher, Mr. Pickering; its title, 'Regeneration;' and it is dedicated to a Mr. Dixon, 'President of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference...one of the greatest and best of men.' It quite equals Milton—in impiety: and surpasses even Sir William Blackmore—in prolixity. As the world knows nothing of its greatest men, we desire to show how the Wesleyan muse strikes the epic string. Mr. Marsland shall present specimens of his own views, moral and historical. His versification may as well speak for itself.

'Precocity excited for display,
Before self-consciousness is barely found,
Betokens not a spirit for emprise;
'Tis often seen that he who's peopled most,
With habitants of highest walks of life,
Is longest ere appearing in the field
Of literary competition, as
The greatest army calls for longest time,' &c.—P. 89.

'Were I to hold an order up to view
Of universal execration, as
Unfit to live, the serpents of our race,
The Jesuits are the men; no words can reach
So low to meet their case; a libel on
Our race; who scruple not to dress, in garb
Of deep sincerity, the wicked heart
That has conspired,' &c. &c.—P. 112.

'Pope Adrian IV.' is 'an Historical Sketch,' by Mr. R. Raby, (Richardson.) It is by no means equal to its subject; and Mr. Raby has lived so long at Munich that he seems to have forgotten his English. Either it is very badly printed, or the writer spells proper names in an unusual way. As a Roman Catholic publication, we should not say that Mr. Raby's views were either high or distinct.

We think very highly of a little practical book, 'Sickness; its Trials and Blessings,' (Rivingtons.) But this perhaps more in an indirect than direct way: its great use, we think, to the Clergy, is in getting them to enter into and understand and learn what sickness is. The writer is an invalid, and very minute and conscientious in her analysis; but this does not of itself make the present work useful to the sick. A manual for confessors is not the best book to put into the hands of penitents. There are many most excellent Clergymen, themselves of strong frames and robust health, who miss many opportunities of doing good from sheer personal ignorance of suffering. Successful visiting can only be secured by sympathy; and he cannot have the most sympathy with

... scars, who never felt a wound.

Not that we say that this work will not be very useful also to those for whom it is primarily intended.

Bishop Torry has added to the many services for which the Church of Scotland has to thank him, by a reprint of the Scotch Prayer Book, (Edinburgh: Lendrum.) It puts into rubrics the Scotch traditions, handed down from the times of Laud by such men as Falconer, Archibald Campbell, Rattray, and Jolly, to the present venerable editor. Thus the Reserved Sacrament, the mixed cup, the order for the 'reserved gifts,' the method of reception, are committed to writing instead of being any longer left to oral tradition. Thus also the Summary of the Law, and the Collect—'O Almighty Lord and Everlasting God,' are allowed to be substituted for the Commandments and Collect for the Queen. We need not add, that the peculiar Scotch rites, which are certainly in accordance with ancient precedent, the omission of the words '*militant here on earth*,' the formal Oblation after the words of Institution, the invocation of the HOLY GHOST, and prayer for the transmutation of the elements, and the rectification of the position of all the parts (with the one exception of the *Gloria in Excelsis*), are here carefully retained. The publication was most timely, and the book itself most valuable; nor must we forget to mention that its getting-up reflects great credit on the publisher. We trust that in the Diocesan Synods, now soon to be held, it will be recommended as the Prayer Book of the Church of Scotland.

A pamphlet reaches us called, 'What has hindered the Anglican Movement?' &c. (Baldwin.) The author answers the question by detailing how in certain Churches the Clergy read the services too fast for his taste: and how their Sermons were not eloquent enough for his standard. Among the remedies for the failure, he 'heartily wishes that the Bishops would *force* the Clergy to have at least one metrical psalm at every Sunday service,' p. 15. Also he recommends that there should be attached to every Church, 'a room for the use of those who may be faint and unwell, furnished with an easy chair, sofa, smelling-bottle, and a discreet matron,' p. 18. Is any subtle connexion here suggested between this formidable Church appendage, and the metrical psalms? Certainly we approve of the forethought which attaches the smelling bottle to the exciting sermon: but then the 'other obvious conveniences for invalids' (*ibid.*) are vaguely put.

A very different complaint is urged in a pamphlet which has attracted some attention,—'The Morality of Tractarianism.' (Pickering.) Many feel that this very pamphlet is exactly an instance of what it professes to deplore: unreality, and undue reserve. Under the plea of friendship for and interest in our own communion, this writer may be consciously doing the work of another, and to us an antagonist, cause. If as a fact the writer of this pamphlet is not of the English Church, what of his, or her, 'Morality?' But, waiving this question, we cannot see in this production any thing more than an artificial and somewhat sentimental mode of putting the not very new objection urged against the Church of England, that she is not explicit on every point of doctrine. This we are content to bear. But, under another aspect of this matter, it is sufficient to say, that this charge of unreality, or subtle interpretations, if fairly resolved, meets all religions: most especially does it lie against that Communion which, whether of purpose or not, this pamphlet seems to try to subserve. We have one cast of teaching in our authorized books, and certain Clergy adopt some

sort of *disciplina arcani*, and practically screw up the implied doctrine to a higher pitch than the letter of the formularies warrants. This is ensnaring: it is deceit to attach this lofty interpretation to the indeterminate letter of the Prayer Book. So, if we adequately conceive it, runs the objection. Now, whether this is moral, or immoral, how stands the case in other quarters? That, as a fact, there is a whole body of teaching above and beyond the doctrine of Missal, Breviary and Tridentine Decrees, largely, popularly, and all but universally inculcated as *the* exclusive truth. If on such subjects as the Intercession of S. Mary, the Immaculate Conception, the adoration due to images, and, above all, the especial privileges and even powers attached by local authority to particular images, what is generally taught, and held, and practised as Divine Truth be such, we have in the Roman Communion just as much a right to complain of the hesitating stammering language of the Roman Books on these subjects because they do not speak out, as, *cæteris paribus*, we have of our own. And then how easy it is to retort the kindred arguments of this writer:—*e. g.* the wretched common-place from popular estimate: it is doubtful whether the Church of England ‘teaches the verity and sanctity of the priesthood,’ because ‘the people seldom regard the Clergy as more than “kind gentlemen,”’ p. 31. How, it may be replied, ‘if the Church [say of Spain] teaches the sanctity of the priesthood, how is it that the people seldom regard the Clergy as other than *the* class whose morality they can never trust?’ For this, we appeal to all travellers, is more true of the Spanish estimate of the Spanish Clergy—deservedly or not, is obviously not the question—than the alleged common English estimate is of the English Clergy. We much fear that if this sort of test is to be applied to any Church, infidelity will be the chief gainer.

Mr. George Williams is one of the most fearless and uncompromising writers of the day. It is cheering to find such an earnest, honest, yet practical declamation against inveterate abuse as is displayed in his ‘Letter to the Provost of Eton College,’ (J. H. Parker.) This is the true spirit in which College and University Reform should be urged. It is satisfactory, also, to find at Cambridge an echo of the same warning, which has not only been urged, but acted upon, at Oxford.

It is impossible to keep pace with the necessary, and in many respects, very thankworthy, rush of pamphlets from the press, on the all-absorbing topic of the day. And the less will be required of us in the way of criticism, because all that are worth reading have been read, and opinions fixed upon their merits. The little that we can in this place do is to mark the more able. In the first rank we place, of course, 1. ‘The Bishop of Exeter’s Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury,’ (Murray.) Were not these times in which in months we live through the work of years, it would seem incredible that this letter has appeared since our last number. 2. Dr. Mill’s University Sermon: ‘Human Policy and Divine Truth,’ (Deighton.) 3. Dr. Wordsworth’s important—we cannot say unexceptionable—‘Occasional Sermons,’ now completed in a volume, (Rivingtons.) 4. Archdeacon Harrison’s extremely valuable ‘Charge,’ (Rivingtons.) 5. Mr. Kerchever Arnold’s searching and temperate ‘Examination of some portions of Mr. Goode’s Letter to the Bishop of Exeter,’ (Rivingtons.) 6. ‘Mr. Watson’s

Reply to Mr. Goode,' (Masters.) 7. Mr. Irons' 'The Judgments on Baptismal Regeneration,' (Masters.) One unlucky instance of overstatement is the citing on the title page as 'Opinion of the Irish Church,' an article from a (very respectable) Irish newspaper. 8. Mr. Cavendish's 'Letter to Archdeacon Hare,' (Ollivier.) And 9, extremely valuable with reference to the quarter from which it emanates, Dr. Croly's 'Theory of Baptism,' (Rivingtons.)

Dr. Pusey's 'Treatise on the Royal Supremacy,' (J. H. Parker.) has been remarkably successful. It expands the argument lately advanced in our own pages, in an article on 'Church and State,' which has been reprinted by our publishers, the Messrs. Mozley.

'Church Guilds,' (Masters,) is an essay on a subject really very important; and against the restoration of these institutions we see no practical objection. But, somehow or other, it seems rather unreal to enter into such minute formularies before a single guild is in existence. We say nothing of the questionableness of the details brought before us.

Mr. Dodgson's 'Advice to Candidates for Holy Orders,' (Murray,) is interesting not only from the station of its writer, but from its own intrinsic merits. May we be pardoned for hinting something on the excessive price of some of these publications? Mr. Dodgson, or his publisher, charge three shillings for 100 pages of what certainly is below an 8vo. size. One of Mr. Maskell's pamphlets, 22 pages of extravagantly large type, is priced at 1s. 6d.

We are not at all certain how far it is right or safe to recommend to our readers a very small tract on 'Baptism,' by Mr. Thomas Carlyle, (Bosworth.) We are quite within prudential limits when we say that it is exceedingly well worth reading; especially we particularize certain remarks in the preface. Lest, however, we should be entrapping purchasers, we may say that its author is an Irvingite, and *not* the Carlyle.

In his plain-spoken 'Challenge to those who impugn the position assumed by the Church of England since the Reformation,' (J. H. Parker,) Mr. Foulkes finds a decisive proof of our Church's standing within the Divine Economy of the Church in the consistent, and in many respects solitary, witness which she has borne against modern European infidelity.

Four very important publications on the Gorham Case reach us only in time to be acknowledged,—1. 'Gladstone's Remarks on the Royal Supremacy,' (Murray.) 2. 'Analysis of the Gorham Case, &c. by Lord Lindsay,' (Murray.) 3. 'Archdeacon Clerke's Charge,' (J. H. Parker.) 4. 'Mr. French Laurence's Letter,' &c. (Vincent.)—On the main subject we have to acknowledge a sermon, as sound as well written, 'The Divine Life,' &c. by Mr. Craik of Louisville,' (New York; Stanford.)

It would be extremely unjust not to be thankful to Mr. Gresley for the affectionate and cheerful tone of his 'Stand Fast and Hope,' (Masters.) The same publisher has just sent us two 'Sermons' by Mr. Coope of Falmouth, and a 'Complete Statement of the Church's Doctrine of Baptism,' by Mr. C. S. Grueber, which appears to be close and systematic.—Neither can we refuse sympathy with Mr. W. W. Malet in his vigorous crusade against the alienation of tithes. A cause, if good, prosecuted with such singleness and sincerity must win its way. Mr. Malet has just published on this subject a Tract, 'The Funds of the Church,' &c. (Masters.)

Among several publications which have reached us from the office of the English Churchman, we can specify 'A Catechism on Baptism,' (Batty.)—And which is on several accounts worth preserving, a 'Report of the Case of Mr. Moorhouse James,' on his refusal to marry upon a Registrar's Certificate. (Batty.)

An interesting and correct 'Essay on the Life and Writings of Bishop Butler,' (Baltimore, U. S. : Robinson,) by Professor Passmore, encourages us in the conviction that the greatest of our ethical writers is well appreciated and studied in the American Church.

Among Tracts we can commend 'Unity,' (J. H. Parker,) by Mr. J. H. Edmonds: 'The Holiness of a Christian Child,' (Masters,) by Mr. Edward Walford, and 'Plain Answers on Confirmation,' (Rivingtons,) by Mr. B. Wilson.

Archdeacon Wilberforce's most important 'Charge,' (Murray and Mozleys,) of which published reports have attracted much notice, reaches us while at press.

Mr. W. A. Butler's 'Letters on the Development of Christian Doctrine,' in answer to Mr. Newman, have been reprinted from the *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*, and edited by Rev. J. Woodward. (Dublin: Hodges and Smith.) Professor Butler had a peculiar advantage for his task, besides those of a deeply thoughtful mind, vigour and eloquence of style, and a strong appreciation of Church principles: he had no personal relations with Mr. Newman. He had neither known him as a friend or a teacher, nor as a dangerous opponent in a long and deeply agitating controversy. His feelings towards him are free from that strong bias either of reverence or dislike, which few writers in England have been able to escape from. This independent power of judging and speaking strikes the reader at first sight as a new, and we may almost say strange feature in Mr. Butler's pages. The work in its present form is a posthumous one, and comes before us therefore with the disadvantages of an unrevised performance. But, unfinished as it is, it is by no means an unworthy reply to the bold and remarkable book which it is designed to meet. Mr. Butler can meet Mr. Newman with the courtesy and self-possession of an admiring, and therefore not daunted, adversary. He appreciates to the full all Mr. Newman's great gifts, and the tempting nature of many of his ideas. There is not a word of bitterness in the volume. He is calm enough to venture occasionally on quiet irony; but his temper is imperturbable. And he appreciates also the difficulties of the case. Yet this does not prevent him from bringing out, with striking force, the self-destructive character of Mr. Newman's theory—the significance, which the adoption of such a theory by such a man has, as to the value of the facts and arguments on which the old Roman controversialists relied, and with which the new theory is absolutely incompatible; and the entire failure of the theory itself, as applicable exclusively on behalf of the Roman claims to absolute truth. But the effect of Mr. Newman's book lies not in its argument. Mr. Butler's estimate of its force and drift is a true one. 'Probably,' he says, 'nothing would wholly destroy the effect of such a work, but some equally clever rival theory. An intellectual romance of this kind is, in this respect,

'like a religious or political novel; you cannot meet it effectively by mere argument: to put it down at all, you must win the public ear and fancy, by a *counter-novel*.' But a theory, like a novel, may introduce a train of thought, not the less fertile in consequences, because at first indeterminate and difficult to seize and limit,—to meet or to support by definition and argument. Mr. Newman has introduced such a train of thought, and he will be no more able to stop its consequences, as regards his new communion, than he was willing to do as regards his former one. He has raised questions, which if England cannot answer, Rome cannot either. For these consequences, so far as he gave his authority to a theory which he had not mastered, for an end which he wanted other means to bring about, he is deeply responsible to the whole Christian Church.

We are glad to notice that the Bishop of London has published, in an authentic form, his 'Speech on the Second Reading of the Ecclesiastical Appeal Bill,' (Fellowes.) In a short Preface, the Bishop 'indorses' Mr. Gladstone's able pamphlet on the Supremacy.

Mr. Chapman has forwarded to us Mr. F. Newman's 'Phases of Faith.' We extract one passage:—'A new stimulus was given to my mind by two short conversations with the late excellent Dr. Arnold, at Rugby. I had become aware of the difficulties encountered by physiologists in believing the whole human race to have proceeded in about 6,000 years from a single Adam and Eve; and that the longevity (not miraculous, but ordinary) attributed to the patriarchs was another stumbling-block. The geological difficulties of the Mosaic cosmogony were also at that time exciting much attention. To my surprise, Dr. Arnold treated all these questions as matters of indifference to religion; and did not hesitate to say, that the account of Noah's deluge was evidently mythical, and the history of Joseph "a beautiful poem." I was staggered at this.'—Pp. 110, 111.

Of Sermons we have several to acknowledge, practical as well as controversial:—of volumes: one by Archdeacon Wilberforce; 'Sermons on the New Birth of Man's Nature,' (Murray:) one on the 'Church Catechism,' by Mr. John Miller, of Worcester College: a valuable volume, 'One Lord, one Faith,' (Rivingtons,) by Dr. Besley. Mr. Sewell's warm-hearted Discourses, 'Pilate and the Spirit of the Age,' preached at Whitehall, (J. H. Parker;) a volume by Mr. Vaughan of Leicester, (Rivingtons;) another by Mr. Henry Hughes, (Rivingtons;) six impressive sermons, 'The End of the Year,' &c. (Pickering,) by Mr. Anderdon of Leicester: and of single Sermons, 'The Spirit of the World,' &c. (Skeffington,) by Mr. Jackson of S. James's; 'Adelaide, the Queen Dowager,' (Batty,) by Mr. Bedford of Hoxton; an Occasional Sermon, (Hatchard,) by Mr. Jefferson of Thorngaby; and two exceedingly important Sermons, on a subject which it is as necessary as difficult to treat with faithfulness and propriety, preached at S. Peter's, Radley, by the Warden, Mr. Singleton, 'Uncleaness,' &c. (Masters.)

The following Erratum was corrected in part only of our impression of No. LXVIII:—

Vol. XIX. page 342, line 30, for *Samosata*, read *Antioch*.